National Library
of Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Service des thèses canadiennes

## NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

## AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

NL-339 (r. 88/04) c

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

# NEGOTIATING INDEPENDENCE: ADOLESCENTS' PERSPECTIVES ON ANTICIPATING NEEDS AND PERSUADING CHANGE

BY

WOODROW MICHAEL LLOYD ©

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING, 1990

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

## NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

## AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

ISBN 0-315-60171-X

NL-339 (r. 88/04) c

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

Name of Author: Woodrow Michael Lloyd

Title of Thesis: Negotiating Independence: Adolescents' Perspectives on Anticipating Needs and Persuading Change.

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

Year This Degree Granted: 1990

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

W. M. Lloyd

Box 1785
Stony Plain, ALberta, Canada
T0E 2G0

Date: April 26, 1990

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled NEGOTIATING INDEPENDENCE: ADOLESCENTS' PERSPECTIVES ON ANTICIPATING NEEDS AND PERSUADING CHANGE.

Submitted by Woodrow Michael Lloyd in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Counselling Psychology.

Dr. D. Sawatzky (Co-Supervisor)

Robert Frender

Dr. R. Frender (Co-Supervisor)

W Hague

Dr. W. Hague

R. F. Jevne

Dr. R. Jevne

Norman E Amundson

Dr. N. Amundson (External Examiner)

Date: April 12, 1990

# ABSTRACT

As a time of development and emerging adolescent needs for greater autonomy and influence, the stage of adolescence is also a time of adjustment in family norms and limits. Teens play active roles in provoking change in the family through their striving for parental adjustment and adaptation. Persuasion and negotiation of change is a common intervention by teens. The intended goal of adolescent persuasion is some negotiated degree of change in routines, roles, limits, or status of the adolescent. The status changes are increases in degrees of autonomy and self-determinism.

This Grounded Theory study employed a process oriented qualitative method of research to discover and explain the problem-solving/persuasion experiences of 14-16 year old adolescents. Nine adolescents each participated in two to four interviews with most interviews taped over the telephone. Descriptions of both strategies and tactics of persuasion provided adolescents' perspectives on methods and styles of persuasion and negotiation during adolescence.

Three levels of anticipation determine the range of persuasion styles used by adolescents. Teens anticipate in varying degrees: their own needs, the needs of the situation, and the needs or concerns of parents. Ranging from nagging persuasion as the most self-oriented style to cooperative negotiation as the most other-oriented style, adolescents are attempting to influence parents to adapt to teen needs. Similarities between the Selman/Demorest Interaction-Negotiation

Strategies model and the Adolescent Persuasion Strategies model lend credence to the finding that awareness of others' perspectives or role-taking is an important interaction skill for adolescents. Adolescents' involvement in negotiating change in norms, routines, and expectations concerning their conduct in the family is essentially a process of negotiating independence. Three types of independence were indicated by adolescents' styles of persuasion or negotiation with parents. A fourth type of independence is indicated by adolescents opting out of attempts to persuade parents to adapt.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge and thank a number of people who have been instrumental in shaping this dissertation. Without their guidance and input this would have been a much different piece of work. I have a great deal of appreciation for their efforts and encouragement.

Dr. Don Sawatzky and Dr. Bob Frender as co-supervisors have been great as individuals willing to 'go the distance' in support of this research. They are fine and subtle teachers through whom I have learned the benefits of perseverance, the importance of detail, and the value of encouragement.

Dr. Ronna Jevne, Dr. Bill Hague, and Dr. Norm Amundson as committee members are also to be thanked for their critiques, comments, and confidence. Their support has been greatly appreciated.

I would also like to thank the Faculty of the Department of Educational Psychology for on-going support and committment to the students in Educational Psychology. The sense of concern and fellowship is encouraging.

Finally and foremost I wish to thank my wife and children for their tolerance, understanding, support, and encouragement as we together went through the assorted trials, tribulations, and triumphs of this research.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION....1
  Statement Of The Problem....1
  Purpose....4
  The Scope of the Investigation....5
  Definitions....6
  Sensitizing Concepts of This Study....7
  Summary....7

II. LITERATURE REVIEW....9
  Family....10
    Families as Systems....11
    Elements of Change - Structure and Evolution....11
    Family Paradigm - Family Patterns....13
    Models of Adaptation....14
  Change and Adaptation in the Family....16
    Assimilation and Accommodation....22
  The Dilemma of Self vs. Family....26
    Toward Mutuality....27
    Differentiation Within The Family....28
    Individuation....30
  Adolescence....32
    Adolescent Reasoning and Ego-Centrism....35
    Adolescent-Parent Relationship....36
    Teen-Parent Conflict....38
    Relationships and Roles....39
  Problem-Solving/Persuasion as Family Process....41
  Summary....46

III. METHOD....48
  Qualitative Research....49
  Grounded Theory Analysis....49
  The Elements of Grounded Theory....51
    Coding and Categorizing....52
    Memos....53
    Core Categories and Basic Social Processes....54
    Sampling....54

My Investigation of Adolescent Problem-Solving....56
  Participants....56
  Interview Technique....58
  Analysis of Adolescent's Experience in Persuasion....62
Credibility of Qualitative Research....64
  Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research....64
  Validity and Reliability in This Study....66
Ethical Considerations....68
Summary....68
IV. RESULTS....69
Overview....69
Permission-Seeking/Problem-Solving Persuasion....70
  Anticipation and Persuasion....71
  Details and Description of the Process of Persuasion....72
    Assumed Independence versus Seeking Permission....72
    Getting on the Good Side....75
    The Choice of Chance or No Chance....75
    Persuasion Options....76
    Orientation....76
    Style....76
    Behavior....77
    Decision Points....77
Basic Social Processes....79
  Anticipation as a Primary Factor Affecting Relationship....79
  Thinking ahead - A Core Process Affecting Persuasion....81
Anticipation-Persuasion-Relationship Typologies....85
  Composite Descriptions of the Cross-Tabulation....87
    Cell One....87
    Cell Two....87
    Cell Three....89
    Cell Four....89
Descriptions of Processes and Interactions....90
  Thinking Ahead/Anticipating....91
    Getting on the Good Side....91
    Gaining Trust-Being a Good Kid....93
    Rehearsing-"I Plan My Words"....94

        - Choosing Who-When-Where and How....95
        - Considering Parents' Stress and Fears....96
    - Persuading....96
    - Competitive Style....96
        - Nagging and Bugging....97
        - Battling It Out....98
        - Dealing with "No" and Parents' Control....99
        - Deceiving....100
        - Asking Why....101
    - Manipulative/"Managing" Style....102
        - Making Sure They Know Everything....102
        - Making Them Feel They Are In Control....103
        - Acting Sincere....106
        - Keeping Quiet-"I Feel In Control Of It"....107
        - Being A Little Dishonest....107
    - Co-operative Style....108
        - Helping Parents Anticipate Change....108
        - Soothing Fears And Easing Parents' Stress....110
        - Staying Cool....112
        - Talking It Over....113
    - Assertive Style - Opting Out....113
- Independence....114
- A Developmental Process of Teen Persuasion Styles: From Competing to Convincing to Being Partners....116
- Developmental Levels of Persuasion....117
    - Competing with Parents - Nagging and Pestering....118
        - Not Anticipating....118
        - Persuading....119
    - Convincing Parents - Manipulated Persuasion....121
        - Anticipating....121
        - Persuading....122
    - Being Partners With Parents - Co-operative Negotiation....124
        - Anticipating....125
        - Persuading....126
- Relationships of Teens and Parents....129
    - Teens and Mothers....130

Teens and Fathers....131
Shuttle Diplomacy -'Go Ask Your Dad-Go Ask Your Mom'....134
Summary--Toward Independence....136
V. DISCUSSION....137
Qualitative Research - Grounded Theory....137
Discussion of Research Methods....137
Interviews and Discussions....138
Telephone Interviews....139
Sampling Considerations....141
Limitations and Delimitations of the Study....141
Discussion of Findings....143
The Basic Social Process - "Thinking Ahead"....144
Anticipating And Persuading....145
The Model Of Adolescent Persuasion Styles....146
Developmental and Family Aspects of Persuasion Styles....149
Strategies of Negotiation....156
Role-taking, Definition of the Situation....163
Feed-Forward - Teens as Agent of Change....167
Soothing Fears - Negotiating Independence....168
Independence....172
Relationships With Parents....174
Recommendations For Further Research....177
Conclusion....179
REFERENCES....183
APPENDIX 1....201
APPENDIX 11....202
APPENDIX 111....203
APPENDIX 1V....212
APPENDIX V....214
APPENDIX V1....215

# LIST OF TABLES

| Table | Description | Page |
|---|---|---|
| I | Participant Characteristics | 57 |
| II | Conceptual Levels, Processes, and Types of Functioning | 83 |
| III | Adolescent Styles of Influencing Parents and Types of Adolescent Independence | 148 |

## LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure | Description | Page |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | A Model of the Persuasion Process | 73 |
| 2. | Cross-tabulation - Types of Adolescent Relating: Adolescents' Assessment of Needs versus Parents' Assessment of the Adolescent's Competence | 88 |

# LIST OF APPENDICES

| Appendix | Description | Page |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Selman-Demorest Interpersonal Negotiation Strategies Model | 201 |
| 2. | Informed Consent Form | 202 |
| 3. | Representative Selection of Memos | 203 |
| 4. | Initial Sorting of Categories and Sub-categories | 212 |
| 5. | Secondary Sorting of Categories and Sub-categories | 214 |
| 6. | Final Sorting of Categories and Sub-categories | 215 |

# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

This study deals with adolescent styles of persuasion as teens attempt to influence their parents to agree to changes in rules, roles, and routines of family life. In this chapter I will describe the genesis of this research and identify some of the basic issues attended to by adolescents and parents. The purpose of the research will be presented. Finally the scope of the investigation and working definitions will be outlined.

## Statement of the Problem

This study of adolescent persuasion styles came about because of my clinical experiences in working with parents and teens. When teenagers and parents come for counselling they usually bring with them frustration, anger, disillusionment, and a massive misunderstanding about the person or persons on the other side of their shared conflict. From my vantage point outside the family, it was quite clear that not only did teens and parents in counselling have little understanding of mutual or others' concerns, but they also did not know how to move toward resolution of their issues. They appeared to be speaking two different languages with little effort to translate. What also became apparent was that while the parents appeared to be trying to change the teens, the teens were also trying to change the parents. There was little effort by teens or parents to accommodate or co-operate.

Curiosity about the lack of adjustment and the difficulties in understanding between teens and parents led me to more questions about the nature of change and stability in families with adolescents.

The essential problem for teens and parents seemed to be one of not only arranging some adequate adjustment of family norms relating to autonomy and control, but also one of managing or negotiating change in a direction and degree that was acceptable to both teens and parents. Young adolescence seemed to be a time in which there was a great divergence of needs and little convergence of understanding.

Adolescence is a time of emerging needs for more independent functioning (Bowen, 1978; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985). One of the fundamentals of adolescence is the teen's growing differentiation of self as an individual. Teens are in a process of defining and clarifying their identity as more autonomous individuals (Erikson, 1968, 1980; Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987). Within the context of the family, teens are learning how to gain more self-determination and more influence enabling that trend toward independence. Achieving more influence and gaining revised levels of participation in decision-making appear to be goals of the adolescent's revision of his or her identity.

Although much of the literature on adolescence focuses on the striving for independence, little is said about the means by which adolescents manage the achievement of independence within the context of the family. From a family systems point of view, teen independence must be accompanied by a parallel adjustment in the family. Although teens are active in defining greater autonomy within the family, we know little of the actual means by which they actually prompt this family adjustment.

The family is the arena for social and interpersonal development and is also subject to pressures for change by teens in response to their emerging needs. Furthermore, the individual's style of relating with family members is repeated in the style of relating with others beyond the family (Carter & McGoldrick, 1980). Because family relating styles are so influential in shaping external and future relationships, child and adolescent development becomes a primary concern for parents, adolescents, and family therapists.

Forgatch (1989) identified patterns of family conduct that seem to be related to teen-parent problem-solving outcome and relationship adjustment. The factors that interfered with problem-resolution were critical or angry emotions and the stress associated with the problem-solving/persuasion situation. Montemayor and Hanson (1985) found that conflict in families with adolescents centered around rule conflict and interpersonal conflict. Both types of conflict come about because of a lack of fit between the needs of the adolescent and the needs of the parents or family. The means of dealing with these conflicts within families were authoritarian response, withdrawal from the scene, or negotiation of a compromise. Based on these findings, it is likely that teens who manage to avoid strained emotional exchanges and who cope with the stress associated with relationship adjustment will be more effective problem-solvers and more adaptive family members. Teens and parents who are able to accommodate to the needs of the problem situation likely have skills to deal with both individual and shared needs.

Reviewing the findings of research on adolescent development and considering clinical experience of observing adolescents and parents attempting to cope with the demands of change, we still need to know how teens and parents manage to adapt to separate and mutual needs. Even knowing that the teens in the Montemayor and

Hanson study chose to withdraw or to negotiate leaves us with more questions. Why do they withdraw, and when or how do they negotiate? We don't know what teens do to get what they need in terms of a balance between autonomy and influence. Also we need to know what they do to accommodate their growing sense of autonomy with their on-going membership in the family.

## Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the procedures of change and adjustment between teens and parents. Adjustment between teens' needs and parents' needs embodies continuing a predictable relationship while also managing some change and redefining that relationship. Adolescent problem-solving/persuasion involves both the individual's notions of change and stability and the family's apparent conception of what is acceptable as change and necessary for stability.

I interviewed teens, and in the investigation explored problem-solving/persuasion styles from the perspective of the adolescent. Adolescents don't write research monographs on strategy, technique, or rationale for their styles of approach to parents that is embodied in their lobbying and campaigning for change and autonomy. As an adult, a parent, and a therapist I felt that the perspective of adolescents, their definition of the situation, needed exploration, elaboration, and description.

The research objective was to identify the processes of change and adaptation experienced through problem-solving processes initiated by adolescents and also to discover the core contributing factors that influence adolescents' differing styles of persuasion as they approach parents for approval. The intent was to explain the processes of persuasion during early adolescence and to develop a model that explains the variety of teen approaches to persuading change and influencing family/parent adaptation to teen needs. It was hoped that the model would provide therapists and families with a greater understanding of the dynamics of family problem-resolution and adaptation .

## The Scope of the Investigation

The primary question that guided this research was, what is it that teens do to influence parents' agreement and accommodation to the emerging adolescent needs of greater autonomy and greater control of decision-making? I attempted to answer that question by investigating the problem-solving/persuasion processes of adolescents and by exploring their viewpoints on factors affecting change.

Two main areas of interaction were of concern in the research: (a) the means of teen-parent adaptation, and (b) the differing roles of mothers and fathers in relation to the teen. Relationship characteristics affect the style of interaction, yet adaptation between teens and parents is on-going in all types of relationship. Considerable research has been done on the effect on teens of differing styles of parent relationship (Adams & Jones, 1982; Coleman, 1974; Riley, Adams & Nielsen, 1984; Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987; Smith & Forehand, 1986). However, the effect of differing styles of teen-parent interaction is not well known at this time. This study of teen techniques of influence and persuasion investigated differing styles of teens' relating with parents and teens' effect on parents within the framework of problem-solving to achieve change.

## Definitions

These are working definitions that provide some frame of reference for the study. Although the definitions are generally common, some are specific to this field of study and as such need to be clarified. These definitions will be expanded further in the review of the literature.

Adolescent. Generally adolescents are those in the teen years and considered to be those in the stage of the family life-cycle between childhood and adulthood. In this study the adolescents who were participants are grouped by age around the median of 15 years old.

Problem-solving. Problem-solving is an interaction between a person and an object or is an interaction of persuasion between two people and directed at achieving a change or resolving a difference. Shure and Spivak (1978) consider problem-solving to be a set of mediating skills that define the ability to think through and solve interpersonal problems. In this study problem-solving/persuasion represents a process of seeking a fit or an accommodation of one person's needs with those of others. Problem-solving/persuasion is an attempt to resolve individual adolescent needs within a context of family needs and parents' needs.

Independence. Independence is the relative differentiation of the individual but always defined within the context of family membership. Individuation is considered by Sabatelli and Mazor (1985) to be a sense of separateness and definition as an individual.

Adaptation. Adaptation is a process of adjustment where one person modifies his or her actions to deal with the needs of the situation or the needs of others. Implicit in our understanding of adaptation is that all elements must be considered and that adjustment by all parts or mutual change is a feature of adaptation.

## Sensitizing Concepts of This Study

Researchers using Grounded Theory method employ 'sensitizing concepts' as guidelines. As suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967), and Glaser (1978), the sensitizing concepts are those which guide and focus the investigation and direct the interview. The use of sensitizing concepts rather than hypotheses permits flexibility during research.

Based on clinical experience and a review of the literature on family and adolescent functioning, the following sensitizing concepts were selected as informed starting points.

1. Problem-solving/persuasion by adolescents is an on-going formal and informal process of seeking to influence parental adaptation to the teen's perceived needs.

2. Adolescents deal primarily with one parent, and in their interactions the characteristics of the teen-mother or teen-father dyads influence problem-solving/persuasion style.

Qualitative research is an exploration rather than a test. The progression of the research provides for gradual definition of the fine points of the theory, and the sensitizing concepts launch the research in the desired direction. These concepts led me to consider which participants would be most appropriate for interviewing and what issues would be most productive to explore.

## Summary

The changes that adolescence entails provokes the family to adapt to accommodate the emergence of the teen as a more independent and active member of the family. Adolescents are considered to be active agents of change in the family, and this provoked change comes about as a result of both deliberate and incidental interaction between teens and parents (Carter & McGoldrick, 1980; Steinberg, 1987).

An adolescent is an influential member of the family who, through the course of his or her development into adulthood, learns not only how to provoke family/parent adaptation to individual adolescent needs but also learns how to accommodate the needs of parents and family. The reciprocal relationship between individual and family, between teen and parent, is the forum for family and individual change. Problem-solving as permission-seeking and persuasion appears to be the means of adjustment, accommodation, and challenge that prompts development for teens and for families. Adolescents' active roles in organizing change to achieve their individual needs was investigated in this study.

# CHAPTER 2

# LITERATURE REVIEW

Adolescence is a time of change. Teens change in their physical, social, and cognitive functioning; families change in reaction to the adjustments required by adolescence. As teens become more independent and self-directing, the norms and limits of the family are challenged in different ways. Problem-solving between teens and parents is a forum for arranging change, with adolescents as agents of change in their families. Because a family is a network of related individuals, a change on the part of one member, perhaps unintentionally, provokes a reaction by others. One problem that arises between teen and parent is determining how much, how fast, and who leads when changes in the family patterns and routines occur.

For teens, problem-solving/persuasion is a means of arranging and influencing change beyond the immediate request. For parents, problem-solving/persuasion involves managing the challenges of change yet maintaining some constancy. In addition to reacting to the emerging independent functioning of the teen, parents have revised expectations of adolescents' interpersonal conduct. As teens become more independent and self-directing, the norms and limits of the family are challenged. Episodes of adolescents seeking change or adjustment in limits seems to represent active attempts to modify the routines and structures of family functioning. Parents seem to want the teen to develop as a capable and reliable individual who fits within the accepted norms of family conduct. Problem-solving/persuasion episodes where the adolescent strives to convince parents that they can accommodate the teen's proposal for change seem to be a tug-of-war between adolescent and parental values.

This chapter is a review of the concepts of systems, family, and adolescent development. It also reviews factors of adaptation and relationship that affect problem-solving between teens and parents. The process of defining oneself as an individual within the family, the relationship characteristics of teens and each parent, and the family problem-solving processes will be discussed in this section.

## Family

A family is an organization of individuals who share a bond of mutuality and membership. Through membership they find safety, gain nurturance, and experience development. Terkelsen (1980) defines family as "a small social system made up of individuals related to one another by reason of strong reciprocal affections and loyalties and comprising a permanent household (or cluster of households) that persist over years and decades" (p. 29). Others consider a family to be the entire emotional system, the operative emotional field at any given moment, having a span of at least three generations (Carter & McGoldrick, 1980).

The purpose of the family, according to Terkelsen (1980), is to promote interactions that convey attachment and feelings of membership. These interactions continue over time and result in physical survival and personal development for all members. For Wilson (1978) a family is identified by the conceptual boundary of communication among members and is regulated to meet a mutual need of support and continuance for members.

## Families as Systems

The family as a system is subject to the same rules of order as other systems. Among those rules of order are the needs and conditions for change, regulation, adaptation, and balance. Systems and organisms like families can be explained as coherent, adaptive, and evolving entities (Dawkins, 1976, 1982; Prigogene, 1978; Lovelock, 1979; Wilson, 1975, 1978). Adaptation, as a balancing of competing forces, is a property of all viable systems and organizations. How well a system functions affects not only the system but the parts that compose it. A premise of family systems theory is that development or change by one member of the family affects all other members as they react and perhaps change as well. The balancing of elements affects the performance and the outcome of the system. Change by one part prompts a change toward a balance by the rest of the system, and the result is a modification of the system. The changes may be large or small, but the constant factors are the reaction toward an equilibrium and a tendency to conserve the order of the system as it is. Striving for balance through adaptation is very much a property of the family system.

## Elements of Change - Structure and Evolution

Structure is a pivotal construct of family systems. It is considered by Bateson (1979), Beer (1980; 1981), Dell (1985), Maturana and Varela (1980) and Terkelsen (1980) to be the essential and determining set of what is and what can be for all systems. Structure is also continually altering with each event that is attended to by the system (Keeney, 1983). Family structure represents the context of all interaction and determines what action and reaction is possible.

Structure, as the foundation of any systemic functioning, directs the forms of interaction yet must also be open to modification. Werner's (1957) orthogenetic principle identifies a common pattern that is apparent across all systems at all levels of organization. The principle is: "Wherever development occurs it proceeds from a state of relative globality and lack of differentiation to a state of increasing differentiation, articulation, and hierarchic integration" (p.126). According to Werner, development is a process of definition: The elements within an organization become more clearly defined as distinct and independent. Development also requires that the distinct elements be integrated and acknowledged as coordinated parts of a system. The focus becomes sharper and the relationships between elements are not only better defined but better functioning because of the increase in definition and acknowledgement of integration. Differentiation and integration are not exclusive and incompatible but mutually supportive and coordinated.

Piaget (1985) suggests that differentiation and integration have a clear but paradoxical relationship because each is a precondition of the other. In general, "structures that are more differentiated and integrated are more adaptable, more flexible, and more stable. Less differentiated structures with less integration, tend to be either too rigid, too flexible, or fluctuate too much between these two states of functioning" (Melito, 1985, p.91).

Balance between the need for stability and the need for change is necessary. The demands on the continuity of structure are relatively constant throughout the family life-cycle (Offer & Sabshin, 1984). Individuals and the family both have needs for stability and for change.

The intertwining of the concepts of stability and change is well described by Gregory Bateson when he suggests that "all change can be understood as the effort to maintain some constancy and all constancy as maintained through change" (Bateson,1972, p.17). Keeney (1983) suggests that we "cannot...separate stability from change." He believes that they are complementary sides of the same systemic coin: "change cannot be found without the roof of stability over its head and that stability is rooted to underlying processes of change" (p. 70).

## Family Paradigm - Family Patterns

A family paradigm is the family's shared set of expectations and fantasies about its social world (Reiss,1981). These fundamental and enduring assumptions reflect the family as it is. Each family has a shared and distinct view of the world that is its explanation of its environment. The paradigm of each family is unique to that family and represents the patterns and principles that govern people and events associated with that family (Reiss, 1971). Like the structure-determined system, the family paradigm directs interaction and determines the range of possible actions. The family paradigm is considered to be a catalogue of family sequences that become the basis for the formation of binding and enduring relational patterns (Wynne, 1984). These perceptions of the world and concepts of family develop through individual social transactions and become embedded as assumptions that are generally shared by family members.

Families develop distinct styles of relating that are characteristic of their unique paradigm. The basic units of family structure are the repetitive family patterns that continuously modify or temper interpersonal reactions (Terkelsen, 1980; Haley, 1976). Metcoff and

Whitaker (1982) consider these patterns to be problematic when they prove difficult to modify. If a family routine reaction in some way prohibits change, then family members and the family will have difficulty with adaptation. When the typical patterns of behavior and patterns of communication are flexible they can represent "the creative edge, the source of change in all families" (p.253). The paradigm of the family as a reflection of the range of possible actions and reactions by members of the family may provide solutions or may present problems to anyone seeking a change.

### Models of Adaptation

Existing models of adaptation relate to the family or to individuals, but do not adequately cover interpersonal adaptation such as experienced in adolescence. In this section I will briefly review the adaptation models of Piaget, Terkelson, French, and Grotevant and Cooper.

Piaget's model of adaptation begins with the processes of assimilation and accommodation (Elkind, 1981; Inhelder & Piaget, 1958; Piaget, 1985). Adaptation in the Piagetian model is essentially a filtering process with provision for altering the filter should the conditions be right. As an interpretation of Piaget's model of cognitive development and adaptation, change or adjustment in a family requires that the conditions be right for acceptance of a proposal or that the conditions for acceptance be alterable and open to influence. The problem for the teen is to influence the conditions for acceptance of a proposal for some change. The problem for the parents is to influence some change and adaptation by adolescents so they fit within the family limits of comfort. In its simplest form adaptation follows a process where something is noticed and a fit is attempted with what is already established. If it fits with the existing structure, it is accepted and included. If it does not fit with the existing structure, it is either rejected or an accommodation of structure occurs to include the new element, behavior, or piece of information. Assimilation and accommodation are enhanced by open communication of needs, but existing structures are not likely to easily change.

Terkelson (1980) proposed a model of individual change that relates to family change. Individual change is acquired either gradually through development or through rapid and radical adjustments in response to crisis. Individual change has the potential to influence the on-going structure of the family since the individual is also a family member. Adjustments in family operating structure have a subsequent reciprocal effect on the individual. The process of change as the actions and reactions of individuals and family structures appears to be evolving and recursive in effect.

French (1977) suggested that change occurs in response to stress and the response to stress depends on the prior history of the individual or family. If the perceived level of stress is low relative to the perceived needs of change then change can be gradual and accommodating. If the stress is high then change is likely to be a reactionary response toward more rigid and rule-bound functioning. This conceptualization applies to family stress caused by a reluctance to change and the common need for predictability. Change for French is either subtle adjustments of individuals actions or drastic reorganization of family functioning. The degree and direction of change is considered by French to be a reaction property of families mitigated by perceived levels of stress rather than being solely an individually initiated action.

Grotevant & Cooper (1985) described individual change or adaptation to developmental needs as always being in accordance with a personally felt level of individuation. Individuality and connectedness are two polarities within individuation. The relative degrees of both individuality and connectedness are taken into account as teens strive to balance their sense of self versus their sense of membership in the family. One of the contributions of the Grotevant and Cooper model is the clear indication that adaptation and definition of the individual is within the context of family. This on-going context of family implies that the degree of connection to family must be attended to just as much as the drive for individuality.

## Change and Adaptation in the Family

Adaptation is a fact for all organizations, and the family as an organization is almost constantly under revision. How families manage to adapt and do a good job of adapting is an essential question. Adaptation is taken to be a reaction and moderation that takes into account two sides or two sets of needs that are accommodated to a common agreement. Grotevant and Cooper (1985) see adolescence as a time of gradual renegotiation of roles and relationships. The negotiation between teens and parents can result in a shift of roles from an unequal superior-inferior relationship to one that is characterized by greater equality and mutuality. For Bogdan (1984) the question of family change is answered by the process of learning. He suggests that learning, as the acquisition or modification of ideas by an individual, leads to change by other individuals and also leads to new ideas and new patterns of interaction. Family adaptation implies both a reorganization of overall family styles of reaction and a shift at the individual level in the ways that a teen and parent relate to each other (Walsh, 1982). As adolescents change and seek new arrangements and limits, the need for effective adaptation challenges the on-going organization of the family. There is a need for adjustment that allows the family to change and at the same time preserve its essential integrity (Langer, 1970). "Effective adaptation requires....a favorable balance between the need to protect the sameness and continuity, and the need to accommodate to change. It requires preservation of the old combined with receptivity of the new" (Ackerman, 1958 p.85). This fundamental polarity--the tension between stabilization and evolution, between tradition and innovation, between reproductive and creative forces--is a dualism found in all domains of social life. Within each system, the mechanisms of permanence compete with the mechanisms of change (Speer, 1970). Perhaps in the family with adolescents the tension between status quo and change is felt more than at any other time in the family life cycle.

More adaptive families are generally loosely structured with more variable emotional space between members. Less adaptive families may be tighter, more rigid, more controlling, and more overlapping in their relationships (Olson, Sprenkle & Russell,1979). The more options available to family members, the more adaptive they can be. Options permit the possibility of flexibility, and flexibility permits adaptation. The Circumplex Model of family functioning developed by Olson, Sprenkle and Russell has two primary dimensions, family cohesion and family adaptability, along which families may demonstrate certain identifiable styles of functioning. Using these two fundamental dimensions of family functioning, styles of family organization based on the relative degrees of cohesion and adaptability can be described. A third dimension of the model is the enabling dimension of family communications. Effective and responsive communication within the family encourages members to identify needs and resolve difficulties. At times, the family needs to function with considerable flexibility to accommodate the emerging needs of members. The style of communication within the family facilitates responsive adaptation by the family (Barnes & Olson, 1985). Acceptance of others' perspectives and an open sharing of opinions allows individuals to express their own needs and assists them in dealing with common family problems.

Change in one member of a family ripples through the family structure, affecting not only individuals but the organization of the whole family. Terkelsen (1980) has outlined a progressive developmental model of family evolution with an interaction of three elements: the accepted family structure, individual change, and the resulting family adaptation. At some point with some families, routines may be difficult to change. In other families, or with the same family at a different time, family routines may assist change.

Essentially, there are chains of reactions as part of family organization that set a pattern for dealing with common events in a family. A family microevent is a "repetitive loop of family interactions leading over and over to the same behavioral outcome" (Metcoff & Whitaker, 1982, p. 251). The microevent functions either to define and sustain relationships or to provide a springboard for change. The problem with an established procedure is that it fosters some level of inertia that must be overcome before change is possible. Any teen seeking a change in family routine must overcome what appears to be the parents' inherent resistance to change. It is likely that parents who are asked to grant permission are reluctant to change the limits and routines because they have an aversion to unpredictability. Parents' stress in reaction to proposed accommodation appears to be an obstacle for teens in negotiating changes of routine and changes of limits.

Change in the family involves adjustment by several members through several steps. The steps in the process of change as conceived by Terkelsen (1980) are insertion, destabilization, resolution, and a parallel process of deletion. Each of these steps affects the on-going family structure. Insertion represents need-signaling behaviors where a new need is recognized by other family members. Destabilization occurs as the new behavioral sequences are added to existing elements, but clash with others. Resolution occurs when a compromise structure is established. There are fewer trials of behavior and the new elements of structure become integrated into the on-going structure. Deletion occurs simultaneously and the incompatible behavioral sequences are dropped from the family repertoire.

Another dimension of family change provided by Terkelsen (1980) is the notion of first-order and second-order developments of the family structure. First-order developments involve increments of mastery and adaptation. Second-order developments involve transformations of status and meaning. First-order developments include gradual changes in the catalogue of what one is able and allowed to do as a family member; they occur very frequently and represent a gradual evolution of roles within the family. Behaviors representing maturing are examples of first-order development in a family. Second-order developments are the extensive revisions in the consensual reality of the family. They occur infrequently and represent a reformation of relationships. Restructuring due to expected family crises such as births, marriages, deaths, or transitions, such as adolescence, are events that would constitute second-order developments. The emergence of the adolescent into adulthood is a second-order development that also occurs through a series of first-order developments. Terkelsen uses the concept of second order development as a description of a radical reorganization of family. For some families adolescence may seem like, or actually be, a radical reorganization. The first-order developments encountered by the teen combine and contribute to a revision of the relationship.

How families manage to minimize the stress of change is an important element of adaptability. French (1977) identified Type I and Type II family adaptation reactions. Type I family reactions are concerned with maintaining stability of family structure; these reactions occur fairly rapidly, and are always strategies of choice when a problem arises. Type II family reactions are defined as shifts in the fundamental reference structure. They occur slowly, with difficulty, and usually follow the failure of Type I operations. The determinant of which type is operational is the amount of stress associated with any proposed change. More adaptive families have a greater repertoire of Type I processes, and therefore have a greater capacity to withstand stresses. Families with a greater tolerance of stress are likely more adaptive (Reiss & Oliveri, 1980). Having access to a wider range of possible reactions, they manage without restructuring.

There is a relationship between Terkelsen's first-order and second-order developments, and French's Type I - Type II reactions. The orders of development are degrees in the rate of change. The types of reactions are in response to that change. First-order developments would usually be met by Type I reactions. Second-order developments would be met by a Type I reaction if a number of reaction options existed. If the available response was insufficient to meet the 'crisis' then a Type II reorganization would happen in the family. We don't know the extent to which adolescents contribute to the possibilities or limit the range of options considered by parents.

Change in the family is a multi-dimensional process as described by the two-stage model of Carter and McGoldrick (1982). This model outlines what Carter and McGoldrick call the vertical and horizontal flow of anxiety in the family. The vertical flow is represented by patterns of relating transmitted down the generations. This is an inheritance of attitudes, expectations, and 'loaded' issues, specific to the family. The horizontal flow is represented by developmental transitions such as adolescence and having to cope with change in the family.

It is the stage of adolescence, becoming an unattached young adult, that Carter and McGoldrick (1982) consider to be the cornerstone of both individual and family development. It is at this stage that the individual is able to differentiate from the emotional program of the family and discard some elements of emotional baggage from the vertical flow of family anxiety. For Carter and McGoldrick (1982) the importance of this stage of development is that the adolescent's "adequate or inadequate completion of the primary task, of coming to terms with his or her family of origin, will most profoundly influence all succeeding stages of the new family life-cycle" (p. 13). In this light, adolescence is a critical transition stage for individuals and for families.

## Assimilation and Accommodation

Family routines are repetitive patterns of interaction which represent the forms of organization. Each family has a base of familiar actions and reactions that are operational as long as demands on individuals and the family as a whole are within expectations. When a change is proposed, the family's initial response is to maintain the existing form. Parents attempt to assimilate teens' requests for change into the established limits and routines of the family. If that reaction is inadequate and does not ease the pressure for change, then there must be an adjustment and accommodation to deal with the teens' request for change (Lewis, 1986). Either the family adapts or the teen adapts.

While Piaget (Cowan, 1978; Inhelder & Piaget, 1958; Piaget, 1971) dealt primarily with individual cognitive development, his theories are applicable to any level of human organization. He comments: "the general coordination of actions is an inter-individual as well as an intra-individual coordination, because such 'action' can be collective as well as executed by individuals" (Piaget, 1971, p. 36). The actions of assimilation and accommodation, as mechanisms of learning and change, are descriptive of the process of fitting the needs of the teen with the needs of parents and family. There is a give and take interaction in family adaptation, and the means of adaptation are assimilation and accommodation.

Piaget determined that all behavior tends toward assuring an equilibrium "between assimilation of reality to prior modes of behavior [schemata], and accommodation of those schemata to new situations" (1968, p. 103). Regulations and operations are two levels of functioning that are "organs of equilibrium" which compensate for disturbances (p. 102). Regulations level functioning is on the level of action-reaction. It is much more rigid and less open to influence. Families under stress may regress to an earlier, less adaptive and more reactive format if they are predominantly regulations driven. Operations level functioning represents an ideal form of equilibrium. At an operations level, action is coordinated into one whole rather than adjusted by a succession or sequence of reactive corrections (Piaget, 1971). Family members can anticipate the consequences of their actions and attend to the reactions of others. The adaptive potential of a family increases when its members can anticipate the effect of their behavior and evaluate options for action before any change.

The loss of equilibrium and a subsequent reaction toward equilibrium are necessary elements of development (Piaget, 1985). The family must adjust, and in adjusting adds new options of action. New skills are acquired through accommodation and, as a result, family members can become more flexible and competent. Change can lead to stability through a reorganizing of family routines and limits. Stability also comes from a balancing of competing needs. In accommodated change, either the requested change is acceptable within present limits or there is a minimal adjustment. If the request is not acceptable, and/or the limits cannot be changed, then the individual requesting the change must give up, adjust and compromise, or reconsider the proposal. A parent's refusal of a teen's request may prompt the development of alternative proposals as well as stimulate some growth in problem-solving options.

Adaptation in the Piagetian sense is a synthesis of accommodation and assimilation (Piaget, 1985; Flavell, 1962). Simply put, assimilation operates to maintain sameness, and accommodation leads to new behaviors (Melito,1985). This adaptation process is relevant to individuals, families, and other organizations. Adaptation in families includes the communication of needs and the subsequent adjustment in routines to accommodate the individual or family need (Terkelson, 1980). In order to assimilate the other person's need, parents and teens must communicate and understand each other's viewpoints. Because assimilation precedes accommodation, teens' ability to communicate contributes to parent-teen accommodation and problem resolution. The teens' style of communication with parents is an important element of their problem-resolution ability.

Accommodation of individual and family needs is facilitated when people are able to foresee effects and consequences prior to action. Adaptive individuals are better able to moderate their reactivity in order to achieve a mutually satisfying outcome (Wynne, 1984, Stierlin, 1974). As a forward-looking anticipatory selection of behavior, Piaget's (1985) Gamma-type adaptation allows individual functioning that is more adaptive because it facilitates planning and preparation. Presumably this 'look before you leap and think before you speak' approach is a quality of effective problem-solving in a family.

For example, when a teenager proposes that he or she go to a dance and come home one hour later than the usual time, a number of assimilations and accommodations are being considered. The problem for teens is two-fold. First, how to arrange for the parents' easy assimilation of the teen's proposal, and second, how to find ways to encourage parent's accommodation to the request. How does a teen get his or her parents to adapt to a change in limits?

Simultaneous operation of assimilation and accommodation, a criterion of operations level functioning, is a primary requirement or perhaps determinant of readily adaptive families. Melito (1985) suggests that in adaptive families there is an integration or synthesis of the two tendencies, so that "a sense of identity and continuity can be maintained while new behavioral patterns are being developed" (p.92). This view coincides with Werner's (1957) principle of orthogenetic development that identifies increasing differentiation and integration as functional and characteristic of more advanced structures. Melito also describes levels of family functioning as regulations type or operations type functioning. Regulations type families typically function rather rigidly through action and reaction. Operations type families display a more integrated and flexible reaction to demands for change.

The coordination of individual's and families' needs for both continuity and for change determines the style of interaction in a family. Equilibration is a higher order regulatory process that governs the relationship between assimilation and accommodation (Elkind, 1981). This process leads to an integration of new ideas within existing forms of thinking. Essentially equilibration is balance achieved through adding routines and adjusting interaction patterns.

Development occurs when the balance is upset and the resulting disequilibrium provokes accommodation. Piaget (1985) suggests that developmental needs or conflict have the same triggering role. He states that the "real source of progress is re-equilibration" (p.11). Steinberg (1987) considers periods of disequilibrium such as adolescence to be natural, expected and healthy. He suggests that periods of disequilibrium are not only good, but essential for an adequate level of development of individuals and families. The inadequacy of present forms for the family or individual creates a need to adjust. Following from this, the needs of an emerging adolescent provoke family/parent reaction, that results in a family/parent accommodation and eventual reorganization of the teen-parent relationship with slightly altered routines and limits.

## The Dilemma of Self vs. Family

Wynne (1984) identified a dilemma for individuals as being the universal and primary striving for relatedness to others, which is in opposition to the simultaneous striving to develop a unique sense of personal identity. The issue for individuals appears to be one of maintaining integration with the family and developing individuation from the family. With members growing, aging, and seeking their own identity, they become more distinct and differentiated as individuals (Bowen, 1972).

Brighton-Cleghorn (1987) suggests that a basic developmental task for an individual is the regulation of two opposing forces. The task is one of maintaining the self's stability and functioning in harmony with others. Minuchin (1974) identifies the dual striving for a sense of belonging and a sense of separateness as the essential human quest. An individual's seeking the two primary needs of integration within the family and differentiation from the family represents what Kohut (1959) calls the push of ambitions and the pull of ideals.

Perhaps an integration of the push and the pull is what is needed in all families. Whitaker and Keith (1981) believe that, in better-functioning families, members have a sense of the family as an integrated whole. Along with a common sense of belonging, there is adequate separation of parent and child generations and flexibility in power sharing, rules, and roles. The family is complete as a unit yet has distinct components.

### Toward Mutuality

The quality of family functioning is described by Wynne (1984) as being determined by four major processes that overlap in their sequence of development. Attachment/caregiving, communicating, joint problem-solving, and mutuality are the determinant structural processes that can be observed in family functioning. Negotiation through life-cycle transitions requires joint problem-solving skills that are facilitated by effective communication. Wynne's view is that success at one step is a criteria for success at the next step. Within a family, relationships tend to progress from attachment to communication to problem-solving ability. Satisfactory resolution of problems nurtures a sense of mutuality, which in itself is another form of attachment bond.

Mutuality, Wynne's fourth element, builds most directly on shared problem-solving and requires that the person be able to observe both the general functioning of the family and his or her specific effect upon it. An individual's sense of mutuality affects further communication and problem-solving. Mutuality is a "superordinate concept that is specifically oriented to the issue of relational change over time in the face of conflict and divergence" (Wynne, 1984, p.308). The bond of mutuality moderates individual needs expressed in problem-solving yet is characterized by acceptance of differences within an integrated whole (Wynne, Jones & Al-Khayyal, 1982). Mutuality serves to mediate what Wynne (1984) calls the supremacy of self and helps to redefine issues as common shared problems. An individual is integrated through loyalty ties, personally felt ties of belonging or bonding. Belonging serves to soften demands and encourages considering others' points of view.

## Differentiation Within The Family

In contrast to a sense of mutuality with other family members, differentiation as an individual is a sense of being separate and distinct from other family members (Bowen, 1978). It is helpful to make the distinction between individuation and differentiation as being at different levels of functioning within the family. Differentiation is a characteristic of the family, and individuation is a personally felt relative degree of separateness as gauged by each individual for each relationship. They are both relative degrees of independence versus attachment. Differentiation should be considered a property of the family system that describes relative degrees of separation-connection (Anderson & Fleming, 1986). Generally a more differentiated family, or a family with more differentiated individuals, is more flexible in operation and able to respond to demands with little disruption.

The differentiation of an individual from his or her family is considered by Bowen (1972, 1978) to be an essential growth process.

Individuals with an adequate degree of differentiation are able to distinguish between emotional and rational forces in their personal management and are more able to react according to their own judgment. They are able to foresee effects and consequences prior to action, and therefore are able to moderate their reactivity and choose more thoughtfully. A basic force affecting adolescence is a teen's progression toward increasing differentiation from his or her family, accompanied by the development of a clearer sense of identity (Erikson, 1980). Family is the necessary context from which an individual is differentiated (Bowen, 1978). A relative degree of emotional detachment facilitates appropriate problem-solving (Minuchin, 1974; Wynne, 1984) with well-differentiated individuals being more comfortably able to make choices.

Reiss (1971) identified the 'environmentally sensitive family' as being adaptive because they could act from the basis of an articulation of individual needs while, at the same time, affirming an on-going family bond. They can be comfortably united while being respectful of differences. The balance between a sense of separateness and a sense of commonality is a significant influence on the range of possibility in family functioning (Cooper, Grotevant & Condon, 1983; Lewis, 1986; Lewis, Beavers, Gossett & Phillips, 1976; Olson, Sprenkle & Russell,1979; Wynne, 1984). Family members are better problem-solvers by being able to see the family issue in context and to see themselves in the context of the family. An adequate degree of differentiation gives one some 'breathing space' from the emotional elements of an issue and clears the way for more rational and considerate problem-solving.

## Individuation

Individuation is a distinct sense of self in relation to others. It is viewed as a property of a relationship rather than a characteristic of an individual (Huston & Robbins, 1982). Cooper and Ayers-Lopez (1985) view individuation as a property of dyadic relationships. A person may have varying degrees of individuation with different people within the family. A more individuated person has a clearer sense of identity as a relatively independent and self-determining family member (Sabatelli & Mazor, 1985).

The interplay between the two dimensions of individuality and connectedness is considered central to all relationships. These dimensions are present in a model of adolescent development and identity formation that describes the factors of individuation (Cooper & Ayers-Lopez, 1985; Cooper, Grotevant & Condon, 1983). Individuation is reflected in a person's self-assertion and a sense of separateness as the expressions of the individuality dimension, with mutuality and permeability as the expressions of the connectedness dimension: "Individuality is demonstrated when individuals communicate their point of view clearly and when they can express differences between themselves and others. Connectedness is demonstrated through a sensitivity to the views of others and when the individual shows a responsiveness and openness to the ideas of others" (Cooper & Ayers-Lopez, 1985, p.15). Adolescent development, as the definition of a distinct individual identity, is essentially the outcome of finding a balance between a person's need for separateness and his or her need for maintaining membership and connectedness within the family. Individuation is a subjective process of redefinition and a modification of the degree of dependence that characterizes each relationship (Sabatelli & Mazor, 1985).

As adolescents develop greater emotional autonomy from parents, they are able to conceive of parents as having needs and personal characteristics that previously may not have been apparent to the teen (Blos, 1979). In early adolescence, teens become less dependent on parents while taking more responsibility for their own behavior. These teens are developing a sense of self as being more self-governing and somewhat more separate from family and parents (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). Both Stierlin (1974) and Haley (1976) have highlighted the need for adequate differentiation of the adolescent as a more independent person within the context of his or her family. The "loving fight" aspect of conflict resolution (Stierlin, Levi & Savard, 1973) implies the existence of a deepening individual awareness of interdependence as well as the freedom to articulate individual needs.

The concept of individuation has been enhanced by Cooper and Grotevant (1985) and is described as being composed of two dimensions of individuality and connectedness. Their model reflects a view that development of the adolescent involves coming to terms with both factors, the need to be separate and the need to be associated as a member of a family. The push and pull of those two elements allows teens to achieve a relative balance between individuation and relationship. As far as Bateson (1972) is concerned, the family's effect on the individual depends on the individual's perception of the family. This family-individual context has a determinant effect at each level.

The discussion on separateness and connectedness highlights the need for achieving and maintaining balances at both the family and individual levels of functioning. The more we know about family systems, the more we know that individuals and families are mutually influential in provoking development at the other level. The next section will discuss the development of adolescents as influential and evolving members of their family.

## Adolescence

Adolescence is the life-cycle stage that Carter and McGoldrick (1980) consider to be most important for individual development. Adolescents become more able to clarify their definition of self, to disregard some interpersonal issues, and to solve problems through self-directed involvement. The patterns of interpersonal style and problem-solving learned in the family at adolescence typically carry through as on-going characteristics of other adult relationships (Carter & McGoldrick, 1980).

Independence is a common theme of concern for young adolescents. It is the primary feature of an on-going process of self-definition (Damon, 1983). For males, independence seems to be a freedom from limits and a freedom to choose and be more self-directing. For females, Coleman (1974) considered that independence was more of an internal concept with freedom of self-definition and freedom of a distinct accepted opinion being more important. Often a growing independence of the teen leads to actions which are counter-balanced with reactions by parents. The family tug-of-war between competing needs of adolescents and parents is negotiated with subtle or sometimes vigorous exchanges between parent and teen. The transition from child to adult provokes adjustment and development of the overall family organization (Offer, 1969). The result of adaptation to the teen's individual request is a 'domino-effect' of reactions that seems to ripple through the entire family structure (Carter & McGoldrick,1980).

Adolescence is a time of individual development in which the teen is able to define a distinct identity (Erikson,1968, 1980). The development of the teen's sense of identity, and the degree of definition of that identity, is accomplished within the context of the family. Grotevant, Cooper and Condon (1983) believe that developing a sense of a distinct identity involves learning to balance individuality and connectedness in the family. Individuality as a personal characteristic is a distinct sense of self and is indicated by the person expressing that distinct view while taking responsibility for communicating that unique personal perspective. Connectedness as a personal characteristic is composed of a sense of mutuality, a sensitivity to others' views, and indicated by the person demonstrating an acceptance of those differing perspectives. The teen's identity is both influencing his or her behavior in relation to others, and is influenced by the dynamics of family interactions (Lerner, 1985). Teens become more able to shape their relationships through exercising more independent choice as to what needs they will address and how they will react.

According to Flavell (1962) adolescence is characterized by a "naive idealism" where the teenager is "bent on intemperate proposals for reforming and reshaping reality" (p. 238). During adolescence several elements provide momentum: teens are developing an intensification of drives, they are achieving a cognitive maturation (for the first time being able to consider ideals and how things might be), and are experiencing a relative transfer of loyalties from parents to peers (Stierlin, 1974). Often the adjustments by adolescents and parents involve a re-negotiation of roles within the family. Usually the re-negotiation is initiated by teenagers as they feel the greater need for change at this time (Bibby & Posterski, 1985).

In a major study on concepts of normalcy Offer and Offer (1975) identified (a) continuous growth, (b) surgent growth, or (c) tumultuous growth groups of adolescents. The subjects of the study differed in affect, defenses, openness, and interpersonal relationships. The 'continuous growth group' reflected the purest of the 'normality as health' perspective (Offer and Sabshin, 1984). This group apparently progressed through adolescence with what the authors called a smoothness of purpose and a self-assurance. The family of members of this group remained stable and the parents were able to encourage their children's independence. There was basic mutual trust, respect and affection between the generations. The value system of the teen group dovetailed with that of their parents. The teen males had satisfying and trusting relationships with friends of both genders. They acted according to their consciences, and developed ideals based on meaningful people of their acquaintance.

Offer and Sabshin were reluctant to hypothesize an ideal, yet said: "If we opt for contentment with self as a valid ideal, then the 'continuous-growth group' may be the group to be emulated. If we choose to say that maturity comes from growth through conflict, then both the 'surgent' and 'tumultuous-growth' groups become the ideal. If we are after artistic talent, then the 'tumultuous group' is our choice;

and if we look for the future leaders in business, law, and engineering, the 'continuous-growth group' is our choice (1984, p.422)." Offer and Sabshin neatly outlined that development progresses by a variety of routes that are both distinct and identifiable.

## Adolescent Reasoning and Ego-Centrism

The thought processes of adolescents have an impact on the actions they take in relation to others, and how they view the world around them (Elkind, 1981; Flavell, 1962; Ginsburg & Oppen, 1979; Inhelder & Piaget, 1958; and Piaget, 1985). At about age 12 adolescents become capable of formal operational thinking. Whereas prior to this level they were able to perform concrete operations as their level of conceptual thinking, with formal operations they are able to perform operations on operations. Teens engage in propositional thinking where the main feature is a reversal of the role between the real and the possible. They have gained the potential for imagining possibilities which leads them to what Inhelder and Piaget (1958) call the adolescent task of testing.

Formal operations reasoning enables the adolescent to conceptualize not only his or her own thought in different forms but to imagine the thoughts of others. Teens believe that if others are as aware and critical as the individual teen, then they will know all the teen's faults. This leads to teens being quite self-conscious and self-centered. The egocentrism of early adolescence is generally considered to be a problem for the people around the teen. Teens are self-critical and critical of others. When problems arise, they are preoccupied with their own thinking and little able to consider others' viewpoints. Elkind and Bowen (1979) suggest that adolescent egocentrism can be minimized if adolescents are taught to explore with others their individual thoughts and perceptions. Anolik (1981) observed that some family members habitually recognize others' viewpoints, and the teens in those families usually are less egocentric because of this experience.

Piaget's concepts as they relate to individual adolescent development and family interaction processes provide a framework for understanding adolescent-parent adaptation. Adaptation requiring communication of needs, awareness of others' needs, and willingness to adjust is an ideal. The following section will discuss the adaptation needed to balance two apparently competing entities--self and family.

## Adolescent-Parent Relationship

The family as a network of relationships comes under particular scrutiny by teens during adolescence. Family relationships are the arena of development for adolescents (Greenberg, Siegel & Leitch, 1983), along with peer relationships, where teens try out forms of relating, differing values, and styles of influence (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). The relationships that are the focal points and most challenged at this stage of development are those between teen and parent.

The teen-parent relationship is conceived by Elkind (1979) as embodying and affecting three basic contracts. The contracts are (a) freedom and responsibility, (b) loyalty and commitment, and (c) achievement and support. The freedom and responsibility contract is an agreement whereby parents give children freedom to the degree that children show responsibility. The loyalty and commitment contract is an agreement that parents will show loyalty and commitment to their children if the children in turn show respect for parents' beliefs and values. The achievement and support contract is an agreement that parental support will continue as long as the child's achievement is in the direction and degree expected by the parent.

Terkelson has described the 'good-enough' adolescent as "one who is able to engage with parenting figures in a mutual and reciprocal fashion, learning behavioral sequences that simultaneously promote attainment of its own and its parenting figure's developmental needs" (1980, p.33). The difference between 'good-enough' and deficient appears to be the ability to balance others' needs with one's individual needs. The concept of "good-enough" adolescent is one that is similar to the teen acquiring an adequate degree of individuality balanced with an adequate degree of mutuality. The teen acts in accordance to his or her own needs that are considered within the context of family needs. The "good-enough" adolescent is one who is aware of the family context and acts to balance individual and family needs.

The concept of adolescent-parent contracts is a helpful perspective, but it should be noted that in Elkind's conceptualization it appears that the parents are in authority as the contract holders, and they are able to withdraw should the teen not comply. Furthermore, the concept of contract implies that something is negotiated and agreed upon by both parties. The negotiation and agreement may be implicit in parent-child relating, but in adolescence the teen is much more active in seeking to influence parents so negotiating rearrangements is much more explicit. Terkelsen's framework of change describes a much more interactive and reciprocal definition of the form of teen/parent relationship.

## Teen-Parent Conflict

While adolescence does not have to be a time of conflict (Offer & Offer, 1975; Offer & Sabshin, 1984), each family experiences some conflict and disagreement. To give some perspective on the question of conflict in families with adolescence, Montemayor (1986) found that approximately 20 percent of families had serious and continual conflict, while approximately 20 percent had intermittent problems. Conflict with parents typically included issues such as disagreements about chores, school work, and the social life of the teens (Montemayor, 1982). The number of conflicts increased during early adolescence, leveled off during mid-adolescence, and declined with maturing of the teen. Amoroso and Ware (1986) reported findings that support the trend toward moderation in adolescents' attitudes toward parents, with 16 to 17 year old teens being generally positive about their family relationships. An increase in feelings toward greater autonomy by teens can be a time of some conflict and disagreement (Conger and Peterson, 1984). The conflict not only causes an adjustment in the parent-teen relationship (Steinberg, 1981), but the process of the conflict and effectiveness of the resolution are influenced by the relationship.

A growing body of research on teen conflicts has investigated with which parent the teen is most likely to be engaged in some disagreement. In a study of teen and parent prediction of conflict (Smith & Forehand, 1986), daughters reported much more conflict with mothers than with fathers. Mothers also rated the daughter's behavior much more negatively than did fathers. Montemayor and Hanson (1985) found that male adolescents reported more arguments with their mothers and brothers than other family members, while female adolescents had more arguments with mothers and sisters than other family members.

Negotiation of change is one means of conflict resolution identified by Montemayor and Hanson (1985). The clarity of problem definition (Nezu & D'Zurilla, 1981) and control of anger or emotional reactions during problem-solving (Fogatch, 1989) generally facilitates the quality of solution and the extent of resolution. In reviewing the conflict resolution of young children, Eisenberg and Garvey (1981) found that resolution of an issue is more successful when there are mutual efforts to solve the problem. A child is more likely to be persuasive if he or she considers the other person's intentions, and a child is more likely to concede the issue if his or her desires are taken into account. Even young children display the capacity to recognize the rights and intentions of others and seem quite adaptive in resolving conflicts. Children learn early that adjusting to another's actions and demands is often effective and prompts a reciprocal adaptation.

### Relationships and Roles

Youniss and Smollar (1985) identified mothers and fathers as relating differently with their adolescents depending on the gender of the teen. Mothers were more involved in personal/relationship issue communication with their daughters. With their sons they played the role of advisors and were open for confidences. Mothers were considered to be the 'rule-makers' by daughters and would be the one to take action when a rule was broken. Fathers had more instrumental-type communication with both daughters and sons. Sons appeared to have a similar approach for both fathers and mothers, whereas daughters favored mothers as their main contact.

Montemayor (1982) found that teens approached mothers more than fathers in dealing with day-to-day and relationship management issues. Fathers were approached on instrumental rather than affective issues. From another perspective, Smith and Forehand (1986) suggest that teens approach parents on this father-instrumental or mother-interpersonal basis because fathers communicate that their identity is based more on instrumental competence and mothers base their identity more on interpersonal competence.

Other research into differential roles provides conflicting findings. In a number of studies reviewed by Rogers (1981), roles between parents were less distinct and fathers were more involved in issues other than instrumental issues when researchers compared levels of social functioning. Both parents are often involved in parental coaching of children's pro-social behavior (Rubin & Sloman, 1984), yet adolescents are much less accepting of parental directives, preferring instead to deal with one parent or the other. In a study of 100 adolescent girls measuring self-regard and self-awareness, Bell and Bell (1983) found that daughter's self-regard and self-awareness was positively related to mother's support and acceptance, unrelated to father's acceptance, and negatively related to father's support. In earlier research, Bell and Bell (1982) found that father's involvement and support was positively related to daughter's self-esteem and ego-development. These contrasting findings suggest more research is needed, especially when viewed in the light of the Bell and Bell data which suggested to them that the father-daughter relationship cannot be adequately described without reference to the husband-wife relationship.

Cooper, Grotevant and Condon (1983) found that adequate adolescent development with a clear sense of identity needed a balance between connectedness and individuality. Campbell, Adams, and Dobson (1984) support the need for separateness and connectedness with the findings of their investigation of teen's, mother's, and father's perceptions of the teen-parent relationship. They found that the desirable balance in the family is one that encourages a "moderate level of affectional ties with mother and a reasonable degree of independence from father" (p.523).

At first glance, parent-teen relationships seem quite complicated. At second glance they are even more so. The research on differential effects of mother-teen and father-teen relationships is very inconclusive. There also appears to be a gap in our understanding of a teen's perspectives of the differences in his or her relationship with each parent. It is not clear when and why a teen will approach one or both parents. Indeed, most research commentary on adolescent-parent functioning seems to suggest that the teen is the recipient of the relationship, being 'subject to' rather than being a partner in the relationship.

## Problem-Solving/Persuasion as Family Process

Problem-solving appears to involve deliberate interpersonal negotiations as well as the almost automatic adjustments of on-going family life. Adjustments in personal relationships and shifts in family arrangements help to maintain stability while permitting individual development and transitions of relationship. This section will be a review of family adjustments to adolescents, patterns of conflict management, communication styles, and effective problem-solving between teens and parents.

It has been suggested by Beer (1981) and Terkelsen (1980) that problem-solving is an essential factor in the evolution of the family as an organizational entity. Problem-solving by individuals begins with developing an internal cognitive representation of the problem elements. This is a map of the problem and goals. Problem-solving with others requires creating a framework of the problem that can be understood by everyone. The communication of potential solutions is best accomplished with a common framework that represents the problem (Ross, 1985). The problem of problem-solving is that teens and their parents likely have differing frameworks from which they understand the problem. That lack of a common frame of reference may be one of the fundamental obstacles to overcome. Communication ability, articulation of points of view, and accepting the other's points of view are all aspects of approaching a problem.

Understanding others' viewpoints is achieved by an informal coding of the content and the process elements of communication. The content component is the literal meaning and the process component is all the non-verbal nuances that give deeper interpersonal meaning to the words. Fitting that interpretation into one's personal frame of reference and comparing the two perspectives is basic interpersonal understanding (Humphrey & Benjamin, 1986). Hansen (1981) observed different interaction patterns in families; the ones she identified as being better functioning had an observable rhythm of completed exchanges between family members. Less functional families had more tension that was attributable to incomplete transactions and problem-issues being left unresolved.

Mature role-taking skill, which involves the ability to differentiate and coordinate different points of view, is an element of teen-parent problem-solving. Cooper, Grotevant, and Condon (1983) found that father's and mother's differing communication styles had varying effects on a teen's sense of individuality and connectedness in the family. Teens reacted differently to mothers and to fathers as observed in the degree of exploration of identity options and role-taking. The individuality-connectedness concept, as a teen's informal measure of self in relation to family, has an effect on adolescent role-taking and problem-solving.

During research on family problem-solving, Reiss (1981) discovered that problem-solving efficacy was determined by a family's ability to deal with the three forms of communication: information gathering, interpretation, and information exchange. According to Reiss (1981) and Reiss and Oliveri (1980), the most effective problem-solvers, 'environment sensitive families', demonstrated an effective form of family collaboration by combining information gathering, interpretation, and information exchange. This coordination of communication allowed them to quickly and accurately formulate a shared conception of possible solutions. 'Distance sensitive family' members were limited in gathering and interpreting information by their inability to exchange ideas and observations among themselves. 'Consensus sensitive family' members were impaired in their capacity to gather and interpret outside information because, rather than attending to the problem, they were too attentive to the details of each other's verbal and non-verbal behavior.

The information processing style of a family reflects three dimensions of the family paradigm: configuration, coordination, and closure (Oliveri & Reiss, 1981). These dimensions are characteristics of family problem-solving style and are generally displayed as individual approaches and reactions. Configuration is a measure of the extent to which families search for the patterns of organization that are the basis of a problem. By becoming more aware of the patterns, members are better able to find a solution. This dimension is the degree to which family members believe that a solution exists. Coordination is the degree to which family members take an integrated approach to the problem and work together to find a solution. Closure is the degree of associating a present problem with a past solution, or considering the present problem as unique and therefore requiring a fresh approach. The combination of these three factors of the family paradigm influence the family problem-solving style. When a conflict arises between what a teen wants and what a parent expects, the interplay of configuration, coordination, and closure as factors affecting reactions influence the exchange between teen and parent. These preconceptions about how any particular family works together have a significant effect on the actions and reactions of family members. While the family paradigm is relatively stable, problem-solving between teens and parents likely, more than anything, challenges the family's conception of what is possible.

Conflict between parents and teens was categorized and counted by Montemayor and Hanson (1985). Conflicts with parents accounted for half of the family conflicts reported. Generally, conflicts for this group of 15 year old adolescents could be classified as being conflicts about rules or conflicts about interpersonal issues. The reaction to these conflicts was found to involve one of three strategies: authoritarian, withdrawal, or negotiation. Authoritarian resolution involved simply a firm command that ended the argument. Withdrawal was stopping talking or walking away. Negotiation involved discussion and compromise. Of the three strategies, withdrawal was the most common strategy for resolving the conflicts. This finding of the strategies of reaction to teen-parent conflict identified some of the options available but did not reveal why one style of reaction occurs rather than another. A question arises as to the role of parents and the role of teens in determining which reaction occurs.

The life-cycle stage of parents of adolescents has been considered as an influential element in teen-parent conflict. A connection between parent stability, or sense of well-being as a middle-aged adult, and the nature or quality of the teen-parent relationship was established by Silverberg and Steinberg (1987). They found that contentious issues between teens and parents were sometimes prompted by the parents' reactions to teen development and individuation. The more content parents were with their own life at middle-age, the more accepting they were of their teen's movement toward autonomy.

Teens and parents need to be clear and explicit about their goals and concerns, with mutual understandings of others' points of view. Powers, Hauser, Schwartz, Noam and Jacobson (1983) suggest that the strongest impact on individual development comes through family interaction that encourages active understanding of other's points of view. In their study of adolescent ego development and family interaction, Powers et al (1983) evaluated the problem-solving behaviors of adolescents and parents. The initial findings of their longitudinal study show that adolescent ego development was stimulated by (a) focussing attention on differences and similarities in member's perspectives with checking for understanding, (b) competitively challenging behaviors through critiquing another's position or defending one's own position, and (c) non-competitively sharing your position in an attempt to clarify your opinion.

A key factor in family problem-solving was support shown through positive affect and encouragement for participation. The elements of effective problem-solving work because individuals are feeling encouraged and their unique views are not only tolerated but accepted. One of the more helpful problem-solving behaviors comes through encouraging family members to actively understand others' viewpoints.

## Summary

It is well established that each family operates as a coordinated network of individuals who are subject to common rules of order. Adolescence as a stage of the family life-cycle often represents a time of challenge to family norms. The challenge for the family is one of adaptation in considering to what degree the family will react to the emerging needs for autonomy and self-determination experienced by teens. A challenge for teens is to meet their own needs and at the same time accommodate on-going needs of the family.

Several models of adaptation have been reviewed and all identify the requirement that change by individuals take into account the context of family. It is not clear from the literature what factors assist teens in achieving change in routines, limits, or other elements affecting their status in the family. There exist several styles of adolescent-parent relating that range from angry and alienated confrontation to friendly and cooperative decision-making. With teens active in adjusting their roles, from those of a child to those of a young adult, we need to know what factors in teen-parent relating affect not only adaptation in the family but also affect the character of teen-parent relationships.

Problem-solving for adolescents and their parents appears to be an interactive process of negotiating adjustments in roles, rules, and routines. All teen-parent exchanges, negotiations, requests for change have the potential to bring about gradual change in the adolescent's relationship in the family. The extent to which specific styles of approach to persuasion affect the tone of the adolescent-parent relationship remains to be explored. Adolescents' roles in influencing shifts in the balance between stability and change in family norms and limits has not been explored. Their role in influencing agreement and dealing with problem issues of change in status from somewhat dependent child to much more independent young adult will be considered in this study.

# CHAPTER 3

# METHOD

A qualitative research method was chosen for this study because it provided the opportunity to explore the social processes of teen-parent interaction. Qualitative research allows access to a wide range of interactions, meanings, and influential elements of process without being constrained by preconceived notions of cause and effect.

Some investigations of family problem-solving styles (Powers et al, 1983; Reiss, 1981) have used artificial analog problem-solving exercises. These studies revealed what adolescents and families are capable of but not necessarily what they actually do at home. Using research methods such as questionnaire surveys or observations of contrived problem-solving, it would have been impossible to discover, as did Montemayor and Hanson (1985), that withdrawal was a common conflict resolution technique of teens and parents. While actual in-home observation would have the benefit of a naturalistic setting, it would also present limitations due to the potential biasing of teen-parent interaction caused by the presence of a researcher.

Problem-solving style and teen-parent relationship style are addressed in this study. These elements of teen-parent interaction are investigated in this study because it appears that these interactions are the means that teens use to achieve change in limits and to modify their status in the family from that of dependent child to one of a more self-determining young adult. Persuasion styles will be investigated as they provide the opportunity to observe the teens' actions and access their intentions through the interview technique of Grounded Theory research.

In this chapter, I will discuss qualitative research methods in general and the Grounded Theory method in particular. Sampling considerations, participant characteristics, interview techniques, and analysis of the transcript data will be outlined. Validity and reliability provisions as well as ethical considerations of the research will be reviewed.

## Qualitative Research

Qualitative research covers a wide spectrum of research strategies. In qualitative research the researcher seeks to understand, from the participant's point of view, what motivates and otherwise influences interpersonal behavior (Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979). Phenomenology explores the full range of the meaning of an event from the personal perspective, whereas ethnographic research focuses on the influence of a culture/sub-culture and provides a description of patterns and roles of members of that culture. Qualitative research allows us to have adequate access to the person's concept of meaning and also allows some understanding of motives based on that meaning. Qualitative research permits this kind of wide-ranging yet in-depth investigation of social interactions.

## Grounded Theory Analysis

Grounded theory, a form of ethnographic research, focuses on discovering influential processes affecting participant's interactions. The investigation of process reveals the determining factors that affect individuals' behavior and reaction styles. Essentially Grounded Theory seeks to discover the process by which participants solve problems inherent in their particular setting.

Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) is based on the conceptual framework of Symbolic Interactionism (Blumer, 1969, Rock, 1982). The premise of Symbolic Interactionism is that an individual's behavior is shaped by his or her understanding of the self-family-community-society context. Essentially, "the basic objects of sociological enquiry are brought into being through organized workings of people's symbolic capacity" (Rock, 1982, p. 34). We act toward things on the basis of the meanings that those things have for us, and meaning is derived from our interpretation of our social interaction with others. Furthermore, the meanings are managed and modified through an individualized interpretative procedure used by each person in dealing with the things she or he encounters (Blumer, 1969). People act according to their understanding of anticipated elements, perceived dynamics, and expected consequences of their actions. A person's actions and reactions are in reference to the meaning that a particular circumstance contains. The symbolic interactionism model of individual functioning is an isomorphic parallel to the structure-determinism model (Maturana & Varela, 1980) of systemic functioning.

The aim of the research process is to generate theoretical constructs that explain the actions of participants (Stern, 1980). The analysis of data is based on the constant comparative method of Grounded Theory research (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986; Morse, 1989). The Grounded Theory method is a set of analytic procedures that promotes an understanding of the determinants of process (Lester and Hadden, 1980). The method leads to a model that is 'grounded' in the data by constant comparison of datum, both within and between sorted categories. It is an inductive-deductive, divergent-convergent process of analysis (Field & Morse, 1985). The researcher "conceptualizes (inductive) when coding and writing memos, and then assesses (deductive) how the concepts fit together" (Hutchinson, 1986, p. 123).

Like all qualitative research, Grounded Theory is directed at discovering the framework of human behavior. Included in that framework are the needs, motivations, and rationale of interpersonal choices. Grounded Theory leads us to an understanding of the context of human behavior (Mishler, 1979). The eventual goal is to generate a model of process or a generalizable, substantive theory (Field & Morse, 1985). Hypotheses may be identified for further testing with other research methods at a later time.

Having provided an overview of the application of the Grounded Theory method, I will describe the specifics of the research method in the following sections. The basic elements of Grounded Theory will be described first, followed by the specific research design for my study of adolescents.

## The Elements of Grounded Theory Method

Grounded Theory research involves (a) identifying research concerns and sensitizing concepts; (b) sampling and interviewing participants; (c) transcribing, coding, and sorting the data into categories; (d) memo writing; and (e) further sampling, interviewing, coding, and sorting, until saturation of categories is achieved. Through immersion in the data and moving toward increasingly abstract levels of description, one finds categories, category links, conceptual ideas, and patterns emerging from the data. Further analysis of relationships between categories may lead to the discovery of at least one core category. The core category recurs frequently and is conceptually linked to the codes and categories of the emerging model. A core category has an important descriptive potential as it is abstract enough to explain the symbolic factors determining an individual's behavior and it is grounded in and relevant to the basic experience of individuals. A Basic Social Process (BSP) may become apparent as the model develops from apparent category relationships. A BSP is a core category that has "two or more emergent stages and the stages differentiate and account for the variations in the pattern of behavior" (Glaser, 1978, p.97).

Coding and Categorizing

With Grounded Theory, the data under consideration are the contents of transcripts of open-ended interviews with research participants. The data are coded using descriptive labels that reflect the substance of the description yet also represent a condensation of each descriptive phrase. A code may apply to a phrase or portion of a sentence, and later in the research to larger units of described experience. Codes are compared and then clustered into categories with similar codes. Each item of data is constantly compared with all others to determine fit. New codes and categories are generated as needed.

Categories represent a logical summary description of related codes. Essentially categories are recognizable patterns arising from the coded data. At each analytical stage, the categories are developed and subsequently integrated by detailed coding. Categories are compared with categories (Turner, 1981). Categories are eventually linked to related categories as the elements of process are identified and substantiated. These categories and relationships represent an emerging model of the problem under study. Ideally, the model describes a multilevel integrated conceptualization of a core process that includes the conditions under which the process occurs or under which the form might vary (Lester and Hadden, 1980). The research process becomes one of integrating categories and comparing properties. The accumulated knowledge on the properties of a category, because of the constant comparison, becomes increasingly complete (Lester and Hadden, 1980). The emerging elements of theory are developed from the theoretical codes within categories and from the links of relationship among the categories.

Memos

Memos are recorded as explanatory notes about categorical and theoretical links, and ideas about emerging social processes. This creative process is directly connected to the described experience of the participants because it arises from the coding and categorizing of the transcript data.

Memos are also concerned with the logical relationships among one's coding categories. In developing a descriptive coding scheme, one writes memos that describe the analytic properties of one's developing code. The process of coding, writing memos, then coding other data mutually affect each other. Sorting memos into a system of categories helps to organize the developing theory and integrate emerging ideas into coherent models and general explanations. The memo categories help one to rework the memos in the light of the developing issues that need to be elaborated. Categorized memos are a catalogue of ideas pertaining to the coding, categorizing and links within the data. Theoretical memos, a more abstract level of description, are sorted to discover categories and relationships between memo topics. The sorting of data and distillation of data into more abstract levels of description leads to the discovery of a core category that may represent and describe a basic social process. A representative sample of the memos that were developed through this study is included in Appendix 3.

## Core Categories and Basic Social Processes

The intent of ordering the data is to discover the framework that determines action. Categories explain variation in the data and a core category explains variation in the categories (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986). The Grounded Theory model is constructed of a core category linked to substantive categories. The Basic Social Process, as a core category, answers the question of why people in a particular setting react the way they do (Fagerhaugh, 1986). The search is for a core category that has the power to explain the majority of variation. If it accounts for change in other categories, is pervasive throughout the categories, and has two or more stages, then it qualifies as a Basic Social Process.

## Sampling

The sampling styles most appropriate for Grounded Theory are purposeful and theoretical sampling (Glaser, 1978). In purposeful sampling, as the initial sampling technique, an attempt is made to find informants who are (a) reasonably articulate and reflective about their experience and (b) willing to share their perspective with the interviewer. The intent of this sampling procedure is to select a sample that is focused on the research question and able to supply descriptions of relevant experiences.

Hutchinson calls theoretical sampling the researcher's "dialogue with the data," which in turn directs further sampling (1986, p. 124). Theoretical sampling is the selection of specific participants that follows up the initial purposeful sampling. As the model or theory develops the researcher is directed by apparent gaps in the theory or model to interview other participants. These participants may provide different descriptions of experience that serve to complete the picture or provide additional data.

Following purposeful sampling the adolescents interviewed for this study were selected because they have observations and opinions based both on their experience and on their awareness of what is involved in teen persuasion. They were selected because of their specialized experience as adolescents seeking to influence parents' approval, acceptance, and agreement when teens present a proposal for change. While parents have their own views on the process of persuasion between teen and parent, the strategies and techniques of adolescent persuasion was the primary focus of this investigation.

Any selection of participants can be evaluated according to tests of appropriateness and adequacy. The selection is appropriate when participants can provide information relevant to the question and particular stage of research. Participants may be added as the research progresses so that areas under-represented in the emerging model may be explored. Adequacy is assessed by considering the relevance, quality, completeness, and amount of data collected (Morse, 1989). Sampling and interviewing ends when the researcher achieves a coherent understanding of the setting or problem under consideration. At that point no new information is forthcoming from participants and the categories are considered to be filled (Morse, 1986).

## My Investigation of Adolescent Problem-Solving

My study used adolescents' descriptions of problem-solving with parents. They described their experiences of persuasion and seeking influence, additionally, they also provided their perceptions of factors affecting the outcome. If we understand an individual's motives we can assess the individual and family/parent needs, which then permits us to determine the elements that are necessary for completion of the problem-solving task. Analysis of a person's reactions allows us to understand the framework of interpretation that influenced that person's actions. Because adolescent problem-solving with parents is apparently a complex interactive process, a Grounded Theory method was deemed to be the qualitative research method best suited to this study. This method of qualitative research (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Rennie, Phillips & Quartaro, 1988; Strauss, 1987, Turner, 1981) was appropriate and specific enough to develop a descriptive analysis of adolescents' problem-solving. The data for this research were adolescents' descriptions of problem-solving with parents. Grounded Theory is used in this study of adolescent problem-solving to gain a fresh perspective of a familiar situation. The Grounded Theory method seemed particularly suited to this investigation because of the flexibility afforded by the procedure. The following section will describe the specific application of the method to my research questions.

### Participants

Participants were selected on the basis of their age, availability, and willingness to talk about problem-solving processes in their family. I approached adolescents between 14 and 16 years old and asked them to participate in a research project on teen-parent problem-solving.

Nine participants completed 24 interviews in this study. Of the nine participants, four were known casually by the researcher through their siblings' involvement in a pilot project. At the request of the researcher, one was suggested by a teen friend, two were suggested by school counsellors, one was suggested by a classmate contact and one volunteered as a result of a notice in a Hire-A-Student office. Adolescent participants were members of an intact first marriage family.

Table 1

Participant Characteristics

| Teen | Age (yr-m) | Grade | Gender | Siblings | Residence/School |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 16-1 | 11 | M | B 17 | SmallCity/SmallCity |
| 2 | 15-10 | 10 | F | B 18, B 17, S 14 | Rural/Small City |
| 3 | 15-8 | 11 | F | B 11 | Rural/Town |
| 4 | 15-5 | 10 | F | S 18 | Rural/Small City |
| 5 | 15-3 | 9 | F | B 18 | Rural/Small City |
| 6 | 15-3 | 10 | F | B 17 | Rural/Small City |
| 7 | 15-1 | 10 | F | B 16, B 7 | Large City/Large City |
| 8 | 14-6 | 10 | M | B 11, B 7 | Small City/Small City |
| 9 | 14-2 | 10 | M | B 10 | Large City/Large City |

Interview Technique

As recommended by Deatrick and Faux (1989), when I contacted adolescents as potential participants, I clearly defined my purpose, role, and expectations prior to the first interview. The adolescents were told that the project was an attempt to understand how teens and parents work out agreements and solve problems in the family. The researcher's role was described as being that of a neutral, curious observer who was interested in the teen's perspective. Teens were told that the discussions were only between them and me and that no discussion information would be shared. Participants were advised of the confidentiality and anonymity provisions to help them be comfortable and open with the interviewer and process.

Interviews in this study were primarily conducted over the telephone, with the exception of four face-to-face interviews. Initial contact was through the telephone, although two of the nine had a brief previous meeting with the researcher in the context of a family meeting about a separate project.

The initial telephone contact was a brief introduction to me and the project. In addition, because all participants were minors, they were asked to consult with their parents about participation and gain parental approval for teen participation. The primary goal of the initial contact was to gain participation in the study, and just as importantly, to begin building adequate rapport and trust between me and the participant.

Of the teens approached to participate in the study, one refused and another was rejected due to my concern about parent lack of ease with the subject of the interviews. After the first interview, two of the other initial participants were rejected (not included in the analysis) because they were not considered to be good-informants. One was interviewed only once and rejected due to his apparent lack of ability to clearly describe the processes or patterns of interaction with parents. The other was interviewed only once because there was virtually no occasion where he perceived a problem with his parent's decisions, and seeking permission was, by his report, always within the bounds of expected behavior in the family. This participant was considered to be a negative case of teens who seek change in their relationship with their parents.

The first contact included a brief introduction and explanation of the research process. Prospective participants were asked to consult with their parents and gain approval. Parents who had questions about the research were contacted by the researcher and concerns were addressed. Parental consent was essential for teens to become participants. The wait between first and second calls was designed to give the teens time to become more comfortable with participation in the project. During the first call the researcher made an effort to give the impression of being casual and accepting of the teen. This was the beginning of building a relationship of adequate familiarity and trust. The initial contact call was followed several days later with a second call to confirm involvement and to begin the interviews.

A follow-up phone call at an arranged mutually convenient time consisted of two parts. The first part consisted of reading the informed consent form to the teen, asking for questions and concerns, and achieving consent to proceed. The subsequent typed transcript of the consent process with the participant's agreement to be involved in the project was cut from the transcript and filed separately to ensure confidentiality. The second part of the first interview consisted of the interview/discussion about familial problem-solving as perceived by the teen.

All interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed prior to coding. Each participant had at least two interviews, most had three, and one had four; the length of interview depended on receptivity of the participant, the detail of their information, and the contribution to the range and depth of data being collected; all interviews lasted from 30 to 90 minutes.

The interview allowed individuals to describe their experience in a wide range of actual family problem-solving episodes. Teens talked about asking permission, getting around parents' refusals, figuring out what was needed to get their way, thinking about each parent's needs, and getting agreements. They described how parents react to teen requests and also how parents differ in their approaches. Teens were encouraged to tell stories and describe incidents of solving, not solving, and trying to solve actual problems that came up in the family.

The interview was progressive and open-ended with the researcher following the teen's descriptions with further questions to encourage elaboration and detail. The interview was also progressive with elements of problem-solving described in one interview prompting questions to teens in other interviews. This was done to investigate the possibility of similar functioning or variations in approach. The similarity of description indicates a reliability of description, when experienced in a range of settings, by a variety of participants. As the initial transcript data were analyzed, coded, and sorted into categories, patterns emerged and further questions arose. These questions were explored with other teens and discussed with the first teens in follow-up interviews.

Unstructured, in-depth, open-ended interviews allowed for a broad view of teens' experience. The questions to the teens, which were exploratory, unstructured, and interactive (Field & Morse, 1985), sought to reveal recurrent patterns of interaction. The interviews progressed from general descriptions of problem-solving to more specific techniques of teen persuasion.

Teens' comments included a range of examples, with a variety of perspectives, so the full range of problem-solving experiences was revealed in some detail. As the interviews advanced, the questions, which were originally quite general, such as "tell me how you and your parents work things out," became more specific in order to probe certain types of teen approach, such as "what have you done to help your parents relax their concerns about you".

Repeated interviews with participants and flexible interviews allowed me to clarify the emerging concepts and explore the revealed styles of problem-solving. When it became clear, from the on-going analysis of the data, that certain areas needed elaboration, the questioning became more structured and focused on specific aspects of problem-solving. Three areas of teen persuasion were explored in subsequent interviews. Second interviews were initiated to explore teens' reactions to refusals, and the use of the question 'why?' by teens. Some teens had described using the question 'why?' to challenge parents and others used it to access parents' rationale for refusal which gave the teen further material for negotiation. Because the style of asking the question "why?" seemed to make a difference in the style of persuasion, it was explored in more detail, with more teens. A third interview explored the trend of problem-solving by these teens that was predominantly oriented to permission for events away from the family. The third interview also explored the participants' varied reactions to being confronted by a refusal to their request for change.

Interviewing continued until saturation of categories was achieved. Saturation is the condition where no further examples of characteristic codes are found in the data and the range of data in the later interviews is accommodated within the range of categories. Depth and breadth of an individual's experience were included within the categories and memos allowing for a rich detailed description of process in the emerging model.

## Analysis of Adolescent's Experience in Problem-Solving

The data were collected with two questions in mind: What are the procedures of persuasion between adolescents and parents? And, what elements of relationship or social process determine the persuasion style? Essentially the dual focus was, what the teens do to influence change, and why do they do what they do?

The first question of identifying the processes and procedures of persuasion identified categories of adolescent approaches to parents. The sorting of these categories revealed the steps of the persuasion episode and the options within each step. Integrative diagrams of the persuasion process were produced to map the steps, options, and stages available to adolescents. Several steps involved choices for teens in considering their prospective options and directing possible reactions to parental decisions. Two styles of persuasion, roughly defined as 'naggers' and 'negotiators', appeared to function across all steps.

The second question of what factors affect persuasion/ negotiation style prompted a second sorting of the existing categories and sub-categories. This sorting revealed a revised integrative diagram that identified two main aspects of persuasion both affected by a core element. Teens plan their approach and act to persuade. The degree to which adolescents seemed to "think ahead," such as anticipating needs, reactions, and consequences, seemed to account for variation of style within the steps of persuasion and seemed to determine the choices for teens. The degree of 'thinking ahead' determines the scope of their planning and also determines what actions they take to persuade.

Process maps called integrative diagrams were constructed as a means of visualizing both the problem-solving process and the linkages or relationships between categories of description. Memos, as records of insight and understanding sparked by participants' descriptions also contributed to density of the emerging theory/ model. These memos remain grounded in the data by referencing comments and insights to specific quotes by specific adolescents

The conceptual model of factors in persuasion as noted in memos and observed in the integrative diagram led to the eventual identification of typologies of adolescent persuasion style that through a further cross-tabulation of the typologies helped to identify the criteria that differentiates teens' styles of persuasion and negotiation. As the concept of persuasion styles was more clearly defined through the identification of core categories (anticipating and negotiating), through observed and diagrammed relationships between categories, through conceptual memos of the process under study, the need to conceive of the data in more theoretical terms rather than descriptive terms all led to modification and refinement of the emerging model.

Theoretical coding and the development of conceptual categories rather than relying on mere descriptive categories are moves toward abstraction of the data. Through these procedures the steps and stages of the BSP become apparent. As well the description of the process becomes more integrated as the essential factors of the process become more clearly understood and articulated. Essentially the researcher is looking for a core process, a basic social process, that has the power to explain the variety of responses to the problem at hand. In this case the problem is one of adolescents achieving influence in decision-making with parents that potentially leads to increased autonomy and self-determination by the adolescent.

## Credibility in Qualitative Research

In every quantitative and qualitative research study, reliability and validity of the data and findings must be addressed. The value of the research depends on the credibility of the findings. Credibility is also measured through evaluating the appropriateness of the participants' commentary as it relates to the problem at hand and evaluating the adequacy of the sampling in involving enough participants able to contribute a wide range of description. The following section reviews the conditions of validity and reliability, generally in qualitative research and specifically in this research.

### Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research

Validity refers to the degree of fit between answer and question.

The answer must represent reality as it is understood by evaluators. Pragmatic validity is achieved by establishing standards against which data are compared (Brink & Wood, 1978). Validity is achieved informally, in the initial stages of categorizing and sorting, by the constant comparison of data with data to determine placement in categories. Validity is later achieved by measuring each segment against a written criterion for each category. Concurrent pragmatic validity is achieved through multiple data collection methods of the same content area (Brink, 1989). Participants both describe their actions and explain their reasons. Both forms of description are supportive and mutually validating. In qualitative research, the adequacy of transcript data and the appropriateness of the selection of participants contribute to validity and reliability of the research outcome.

Reliability refers to the extent to which random variation may have influenced results. Reliability is related to the consistency of informant's reports and the investigator's ability to accurately collect and record information (Brink, 1989). Sampling also affects reliability through the selection of informants. They must be credible representative participants and able to contribute relevant information (Morse 1985).

According to Brink (1989), "The tests of reliability are:

1. Stability over time through repeating observations or questions to establish consistency of answers;

2. Internal consistency through providing logical or explanatory rationale of ideas within a single interview;

3. Equivalence testing by asking different kinds of questions within an interview to establish equivalence of data regardless of

questioning form" (p.161).

Validity and Reliability in This Study

To achieve validity in the analysis of the adolescent's interview data, participants were often asked the same form of question with the on-going comparison of data from different participants either supporting the validity of the description or leading to new codes and categories. As a measure of reliability, participants were on occasion asked variations of a question in an interview and responses were compared for consistency. Sometimes a very similar form of a question was asked of the same participant in a second or third interview.

As a measure of validity a triangulation of data was achieved by checking what was learned from one informant against the experience of other informants. Another form of triangulation of data came when teens described not only their experience of problem-solving but also described a more abstract understanding of the process. Keeney (1983) talks about three logical levels of interpretation: (a) experience, (b) description of the experience, and (c) explanation of the experience. These three elements are ascending orders of logic, from concrete to more abstract, and they occur concurrently. The only access we have to a person's explanation or experience is through his or her description of the experience. The interviews resulted in teens' descriptions of their experience of persuasion and descriptions of their explanation of the factors affecting problem-solving/persuasion processes.

Validity of results was also evaluated by discussing findings and evaluating reactions, with individuals familiar with teens and their problem-solving with parents. The persuasion styles model and supporting commentary included in the Results Chapter of this dissertation were presented for review to several individuals. Four participants of the study reviewed the results and evaluated whether the model and description of the processes of persuasion was consistent with their experience. A separate group of five 15 year old students, who were not participants in the initial study, reviewed the model and results to evaluate for consistency with their experience.

The original participants related that the range of their persuasion/negotiation was included within the processes and options included in the model. The separate review group found that their styles of persuasion were also included within the scope of the model. This participant review supported by the experiences of the adolescents in the review group indicate that the developed model of adolescent persuasion styles is a valid representation of their reality.

Reliability of results was addressed through data collection using tape-recorded interviews that were then typed into transcripts. The accuracy of transcripts was verified by the researcher by listening to the interview while reading the transcript. Errors were corrected and emotional affect, where notable, was noted on the transcript. As coding of the transcripts progressed, segments were sorted into categories of common experience. Memos were referenced to the transcript page and therefore referenced to the specific informant. An audit trail between memos, categories, codes, transcripts, and original interview audio-tapes was maintained so that descriptive items could be traced back to their source and validated.

## Ethical Considerations

With any research with human subjects, the ethics of the process needs to be considered to safeguard the participants. Absence of intrusive measures, a full description of research process and expectations, and respect for free choice to participate are all necessary ethical considerations. The research proposal was evaluated and approved by an Ethics Review Committee of the Department of Educational Psychology.

Informed consent was obtained from participants prior to interviews (See Appendix 2). The consent form described the intent of the research and the nature of the study. Informants were advised that their participation was voluntary and they could withdraw at any time. They were also advised of the confidentiality measures in place as part of the research design. Anonymity was maintained through the use of code numbers for informants, with the names of participants known only to the researcher. Tapes are kept in a secure location and all identifiers are removed from typed transcripts. Audio-tapes will be erased at the conclusion of the study.

## Summary

In this chapter qualitative and Grounded Theory research methods were described. The specific details of the application of Grounded Theory method to discover adolescent problem-solving processes were provided. Consideration of validity and reliability concerns in qualitative research was discussed. In the Results chapter the model of problem-solving by adolescents will be described.

# CHAPTER 4

# RESULTS

From the starting point of teens' descriptions of their attempts to influence parents, a composite picture of the styles of persuasion and negotiation emerged from the data. In this chapter I will present the findings of the analysis of adolescents' descriptions of their attempts to influence change. The processes of persuasion will be described with explanations of the steps and styles and varieties of adolescent interaction with parents. The categories of teens' approaches to parents will also be presented to illustrate the range of anticipation, planning, and persuasion techniques in use by adolescents. The chapter will conclude with a description of three types of independence that have been observed within adolescent-parent relating.

## Overview

Problem-solving is used in this report as a generic label of a common interaction of persuasion between teens and parents. This exchange includes any attempt by teens to influence parents and to achieve a change in the typical patterns and limits of teen-family life. Problem-solving can be used interchangeably with the term persuasion. Problem-solving as an interaction has two parts: (a) learning how to influence a solution, and (b) achieving the solution you want. Essentially problem-solving embodies both process and outcome. Planning and persuasion are the process elements, and redefinition of the on-going relationship is the outcome.

The following is an overview of the processes of persuasion most often used by the adolescent seeking permission to do something away from the family. Usually this request involves securing permission for some change in limits and entails a form of negotiation of a contract of conduct involving the adolescent. The steps and options that are described here represent a composite picture of the processes of prompting change and adaptation as described by the teens participating in this study. There were two main areas of inquiry in this research: first, describing the processes of seeking change, and second, determining what affects the various styles of persuasion. The first question, about process, will be considered with a description of the diagram of the persuasion procedures. The second question, about factors affecting process, will be considered later in the discussion of the central processes of anticipation and negotiation.

## Permission-seeking/Problem-solving Persuasion

In permission-seeking/problem-solving, teens campaign for change in the limits, roles, and routines that represent parental/family expectations of teen conduct. The main forum for problem-solving and adjustment seems to be seeking permission for activities away from home and family. Arranging adjustments and learning how to influence parents to approve of proposals for change appeared to be the tasks at hand for the adolescents in this study. The implication for any teen in influencing change on an issue by issue basis is that he or she incrementally becomes able to function with more autonomy. Seeking permission appears to be the means of arranging change on relatively small issues. The outcome of seeking permission is often a gradual and negotiated accommodation by parents as they accept an adjustment of norms and expectations. The implication of successful persuasion by adolescents is that they gain more autonomy and redefine the level of influence in teen-parent decision-making. When adolescents seek permission and persuade parents to make an adjustment, they are, in effect, negotiating independence.

Potentially parents can come to see the teen as a more able and responsible young adult as a result of the negotiations and arrangements between teen and parent. If the teen successfully negotiates some change and then follows through, fulfilling the implicit contract, the parents will accept that the teen is more competent and therefore able to be more self-determining. Acknowledged competent self-management in situations away from direct parental supervision can enable small changes of status for the teen.

Having presented an overview of some of the implications of the persuasion process, I will now outline the procedures of persuasion. There are several options for teens in this process. The choices seem to be influenced by two things. First of all the teen chooses to either persuade parents to agree with a proposal for change, or the teen chooses to opt out of the persuasion process and make an independent decision. Secondly, teens' choices are influenced by the extent to which they think ahead and anticipate not only their own needs but also the needs of the situation and the needs of parents. The choices and steps of permission-seeking/persuasion will be outlined and described in the following section.

## Anticipation and Persuasion

The process steps of persuasion emerged from the analysis of adolescent's descriptions of the procedures used in influencing change. The following diagram was developed as a conceptual representation of the persuasion process. The diagramming of process is an adjunct to writing memos and serves to clarify the process and focus ideas stimulated by reviewing the codes and categories of the data.

For adolescents in this study, the basic routine of persuading parents to agree to some modification of the rules follows a simple formula. The adolescent anticipates (to varying degrees) what needs to be considered; then he or she approaches parents with a variety of persuasion/negotiation tactics; finally the teen evaluates parents' reactions and then plans (to varying degrees) his or her next step. The detailed diagram of the process (See Figure 1) outlines the possibilities and represents a catalogue of steps and options in what teens describe as, *"getting what I want."*

A number of possible steps and options are available to the teen when he or she approaches parents to arrange some change. The adolescents' styles of attempting influence seem to be affected by the degree of anticipation and planning as they conceptualize the problem of achieving some change. Figure 1 outlines the process of persuasion/negotiation as described by the adolescents in this study.

### Details and Description of the Process of Persuasion

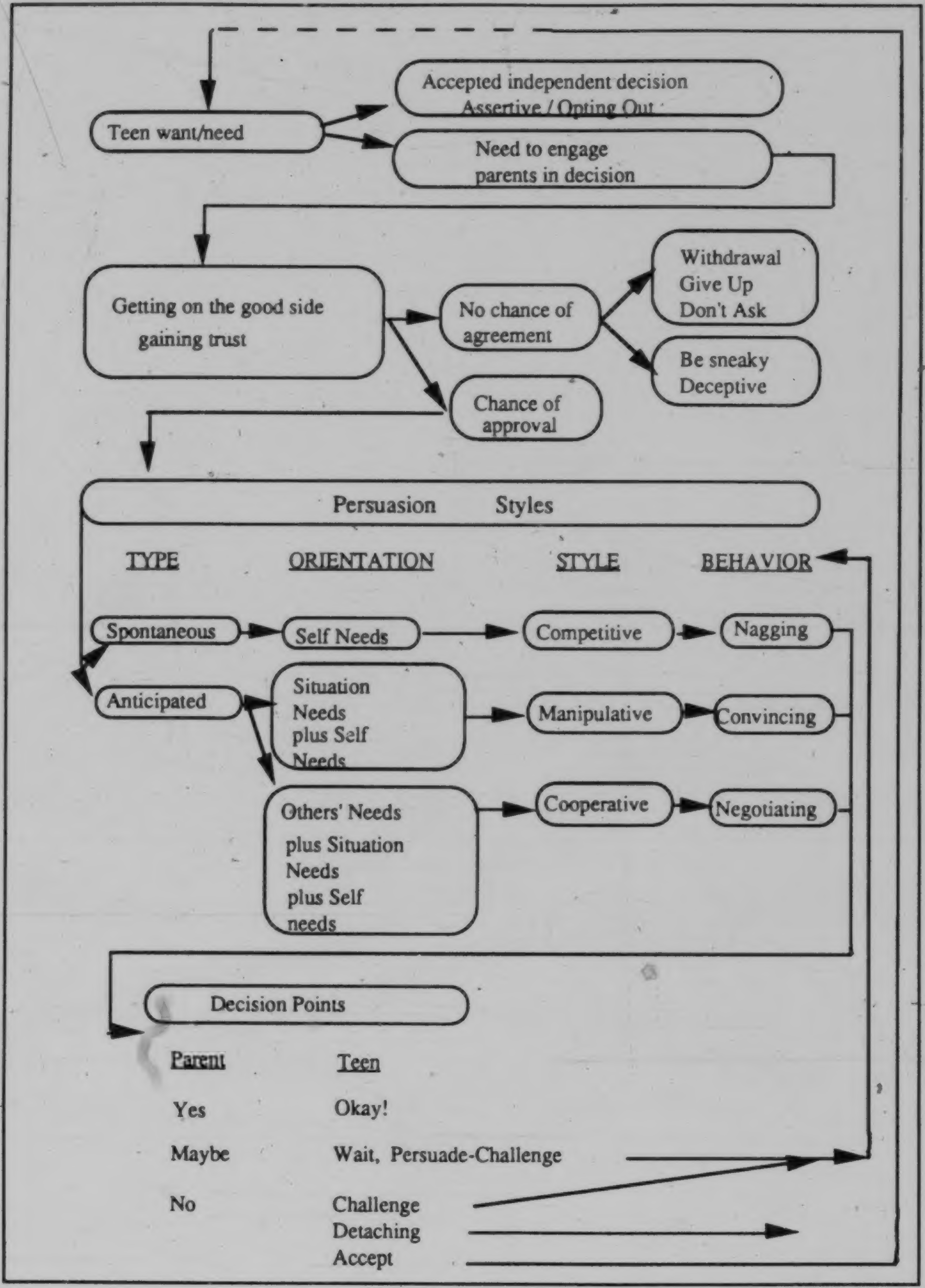
These descriptions complement Figure 1 by providing explanations of the steps and options of the persuasion process. Further supportive details will become apparent when the sorted categories of adolescents' descriptions of persuasion are described later in this chapter.

Assumed independence versus seeking permission. The first choice for an adolescent when he or she is considering a change in the routine or limits of the relationship is to decide who is empowered to

C

Figure 1

A Model of the Persuasion Process


Teen want/need
Accepted independent decision
Assertive / Opting Out
Need to engage
parents in decision
Getting on the good side
gaining trust
No chance of
agreement
Withdrawal
Give Up
Don't Ask
Be sneaky
Deceptive
Chance of
approval
Persuasion Styles
TYPE
ORIENTATION
STYLE
BEHAVIOR
Spontaneous
Self Needs
Competitive
Nagging
Anticipated
Situation
Needs
plus Self
Needs
Manipulative
Convincing
Others' Needs
plus Situation
Needs
plus Self
needs
Cooperative
Negotiating
Decision Points
Parent
Teen
Yes
Okay!
Maybe
Wait, Persuade-Challenge
No
Challenge
Detaching
Accept

decide. The options are (1) the teen decides independently, or (2) the teen asks for permission and approval from one or both parents. This assumed empowerment appears to be based on past experience with similar issues or the teen's rating of the perceived risk of the proposed request. If there will be little disruption of the family routine and the request falls within the realm of usual behavior then there is little risk. In interviewing adolescents it appeared that all of the teens usually had a clear conceptualization of who was in charge of what decision area. Some decisions were clearly within the teen's realm of decision, and so the teen merely informed parents of his or her decision.

If a parent is to be asked, then the teen must choose whom to ask, one parent or both. From the descriptions of the adolescents it became apparent that there are five realms of decision-making to be considered. While it seems that family members do not overtly label who has the power to decide, it was apparent that teens knew who could grant approval or rather who was able to decide. The realms of decision-making in a family are (a) the teen independently (*"I'm going jogging mom and will be back at 4:30"* ), (b) either parent interchangeably (usually a fairly simple request), (c) one parent (usually the one considered by the teen to be the most open and understanding), (d) one parent who assesses the request and then refers to the other (*"go ask your dad"* or *"go ask your mom"* ), (e) both parents together. These five realms give some structure to the persuasion routine by representing some mechanism of sorting issues according to some implicit criteria. The sorting or assessing who to approach appears to be done by both teens and parents.

Predictable realms of decision streamline the decision process for the family. The teen may know the limits of a parent's permission. *"In some situations I'll say 'yeah I can' even without asking because I know the answer will be 'yes."* or alternately,*"my friend will come up with some wild idea and I go 'no, I'm not even going to ask' and I don't."* Some adolescents also assert their right to decide based on their belief that since the decision affects them, they ought to be the ones making it. Presumably this approach to some issues is either acceptable to parents, or is negotiated by the teen, or is a source of conflict requiring eventual resolution.

Teens in this study also talked about choosing to go to one parent before another because of a perceived closeness and also because that parent could decide independently. Teens seem to know to whom the decision belongs, and parents seem to either decide individually or defer the decision to their spouse.

Getting on the good side. Part of the persuasion process is to develop a receptive climate by creating an impression as a responsible adolescent. Gaining trust by following through on promises or helping out around the house is considered by the teens to be influential in obtaining agreements from parents.

The choice of chance or no chance. The next step of the process is where the teen assesses his or her chances of getting approval. If there is a chance of approval then the teen will proceed to the persuasion stage. If there is no chance of approval then the teen has another choice of either giving up and not asking or withdrawing from asking for permission and still being somewhat sneaky or deceptive in going after what he or she wants.

Persuasion options. The first choice at the persuasion stage is to act quite spontaneously with little or no planning of subsequent steps, or alternatively to anticipate the needs of the situation and the needs of parents as the teen plans subsequent steps. The ability to forecast the needs that are required to be addressed to influence a favorable decision is a determining factor in the adolescents' style of relating with parents.

Orientation. Three orientations have been identified from teens' descriptions of persuasion techniques. Teens either think primarily about their own needs and wants, or they think about what is needed to convince parents and achieve an agreement, or they think about their request from their parents' point of view. The self-situation-others' needs orientations are reflections of the adolescents' range of anticipation in planning and preparing what persuasive action they will take. Adolescents may think primarily about their own needs only or they may also consider what needs to be done to gain approval or they may also consider parents' needs. The progression of considering more needs and considering from a broader perspective appears to be additive and developmental.

Style. Based on the teens' orientation of self, situation, and other, the style of attempting influence and persuasion is either competitive, manipulative or cooperative. Competitive persuasion is reflected by the teen applying pressure and acting as if gaining permission is a contest where the teen is right and the parent is wrong unless the parent agrees with the teen. Manipulative persuasion is reflected by teens providing only as much information to parents as they have to in order to secure permission. They have learned that parents need to know things such as who will be at the dance, what time they will be home, and how they will get back. Manipulative teens also provide selective details and tailor the information they provide to parents so that they can create the most favorable impression with parents. Cooperative persuasion is reflected by consideration of the needs, worries, concerns, and fears of parents. Teens who use cooperative persuasion appear to view persuasion/negotiation as something they participate in almost as peers with parents, and they seem to act according to the belief that they are able to influence an agreement by considering everybody's needs. Cooperatively they are sharing an agreement while the competitive and manipulative teens are merely getting permission for a small change.

Behavior. The options of presenting the request include nagging, convincing or negotiating. These behaviors are related to the teens' orientation and style of persuasion. Teens who are primarily self-oriented display the competitive style of persuasion, using nagging and persistent pestering as the means of challenging parents' refusal or hesitance in approving a proposal. Teens who have learned that they must attend to the needs of persuasion by providing just enough selective information display the manipulative style of persuasion. Convincing is demonstrated by bargaining as a means of persuasion and selectively managing information to secure approval. Teens who consider their own request for change from the viewpoint of their parents seem to be more considerate of the problem and display a cooperative style of persuasion as demonstrated by negotiating behaviors.

Decision points. At this point of the process parents consider the teen's request. The options for parents are to say yes, maybe, or no. Depending on the parents' response teens decide on their next course of action. If a parent refuses a request or otherwise puts off the teen by giving an inconclusive answer, the teen considers the possibilities of accepting the decision, challenging the decision, or opting out of the persuading process altogether. Teens consider *"is this reason valid or is it something I can work around"?* Presumably a reason from parents that is not" *valid"* is one that has loop-holes in it or otherwise can be challenged by the teen. The challenging approach can continue until one person or the other *"caves in"* or until it becomes clear that no amount of persuasion will result in a favorable agreement. Teens at this point must retreat and consider other ways they can use to influence an agreement. The interviews with adolescents showed that their reactions to refusals ranged from anger, withdrawal, and feelings of separation to feeling challenged to come up with a more effective means of reasoning with parents.

The persuasion process that has been described is a composite of actions and orientations as described by these adolescents. Coding and categorizing the data served to focus on patterns of experience, provided a synopsis of description, and clarified the elements that determined the choices facing adolescents. The description of the permission-seeking/persuasion process was the first step in investigating adaptation between adolescents and their parents. The second step was to approach the data again with the question of what causes the variation in styles of relating and styles of persuasion. The next section will be an explanation of the discovery and clarification of the Basic Social Process and central processes affecting adolescent approaches to change in the family.

## Basic Social Processes

Through Grounded Theory analysis of interviews of teens' experiences, categories of similar experiences became apparent. The sorted categories represent patterns of experience and the search of the researcher is for elements of process that describe participants' interactions and reactions to the problems under study. A core category becomes apparent as the one that is central to the emerging theory, related and linked to many of the other categories, and allows for maximum variation in the descriptive model of the process under study. The BSP accounts for variation that occurs over time, logically links the process together, and has at least two emergent steps (Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987).

Two types of Basic Social Process are available for consideration (Fagerhaugh, 1986; Glaser, 1978). A Basic Social Psychological Process (BSPP) refers to psychological factors affecting individuals' actions and interactions. A Basic Social Structural Process (BSSP) refers to the structural aspects of social processes affecting the individuals under study.

### Anticipation as a primary factor affecting relationship

From the interviews and subsequent coding, categorizing, and writing memos about the processes, it became quite clear that the degree to which adolescents *"think ahead"* or anticipate upcoming needs at a variety of levels determines their style of approach and persuasion. The variation in their styles of influencing change appears to be closely connected to the degree to which they anticipate and plan their tactics of persuasion.

The descriptive categories that emerged from the original sorting of data and the sub-categories that indicate some of the properties of those categories were as follows: Anticipating, Asking/Convincing, Working around it, Trying to get what you want, Seeing where they are coming from, Dealing with moms and dads, Watching out for creeps, Being confused by parents, Getting chewed out. See Appendix 4 for the list of categories and sub-categories that represent the properties of these categories.

The more theoretical categories that emerged from the identification of the core category of anticipation/"thinking ahead" reflected the two component elements of anticipation: planning, and acting on the anticipation (Appendix 5). The categories and sub-categories that support this aspect of the BSP of anticipating are as follows: Planning-Anticipating needs, objections, and fears; Getting on the good side, Rehearsing - "I plan my words", Choosing who-when-where-how, Considering parents' stress and fears; Acting-Influencing and tactics of persuasion; Nagging and bugging, Talking it over vs. battling it out, Staying cool, Making sure they know everything, Helping parents anticipate change, Increasing predictability - describing the future, Addressing parents' safety fears, Soothing fears and easing stress, Asking why - "It might really be an answer I can work around, Making them feel they are in control, Keeping quiet - "I feel in control of it," Acting sincere, Being a little dishonest, Dealing with "no" and parents' control, Gaining trust.

Further analysis of accumulating memos and versions of integrative diagrams led to a final arranging of categories and sub-categories that reflected not only the anticipation strategies but the persuasion tactics that characterized the differing styles of approach to parents demonstrated by the adolescents in this study (Appendix 6). The categories and sub-categories are as follows: Thinking Ahead/ Anticipating; Getting on the good side, Gaining trust-being a good kid, Rehearsing, Choosing who-when-where-how, Considering parents' stress and fears; Persuading/Negotiating, (Competitive style), Nagging and bugging, Battling it out, Dealing with "no" and parents' control, (Manipulative style), Making sure they know everything, Making them feel they are in control, Acting sincere, Keeping quiet-"I feel in control of it", Being a little dishonest, (Cooperative style), Helping parents anticipate change-increasing predictability, Soothing fears and easing parents' stress, Asking why-"It might be an answer I can work around", Staying cool, Talking it over, (Assertive style), Opting out, Deception.

Anticipating was identified as the category that was essentially the core of the process of persuading parents' adaptation to emerging teen needs. Teens in the study referred to *"thinking ahead"* as something that enabled them to prepare and rehearse their approaches to parents as well as allowing them to consider the needs of the negotiating process and the needs or concerns of parents.

Thinking Ahead - A Core Process Affecting Persuasion

This description, provided by a 15 year old girl, illustrates the progression from not planning to planning, from thinking primarily about her own needs to thinking about the needs of the situation and the needs of parents, and from nagging to negotiating: *"I used to ask and ask and then my mom and I or my dad and I would get mad at each other and I'd leave the room and be upset and pout. Then one* *time I thought, 'why not try asking them why.' I never thought of that before. Like this answer was there the whole time and I never thought of asking them 'why are they saying this?' I use to think, 'I want this and I want this and they can't say anything about it. I want it!' Then I thought one time 'well try asking them why they don't want me to have this' or whatever the situation may be."* When I asked this teen to explain, "Why ask why", she replied: *"Because it might really be an answer I can work around....I always ask why now and then I usually think ahead as to why they might not want me to do this and then I come up with the answers already."*

The discussions with teens revealed a range of approaches to the problem of achieving more influence with parents. The anticipation of needs, reasons, objections, and worries provides teens with opportunities to influence parents' decisions and permissions.

Through analysis of transcript data, the coding of participants' interpretations and descriptions of reactions, and clustering of similarly coded transcript fragments, categories emerged that revealed two basic processes of anticipating/planning and acting /reacting in order to be more persuasive. In seeking permission teens anticipated and planned what had to be done, sometimes assisted by recognizing the needs of the situation and sometimes becoming aware of the needs of parents. To influence a solution, they acted upon those anticipated needs with a variety of approaches and reactions. The extent to which teens thought ahead affected the relative ease of gaining permission and influenced their relationship style with parents.

It is usually desirable to have one core category that leads to one Basic Social Process as the foundation of the process model. When more than one core category emerges in the data, Glaser and Strauss (1967), Glaser (1978), and Strauss (1987) recommend filtering one core into the other to aid description and reporting on the key social process. Relative to the BSP of "thinking ahead" (the teens' synonym for anticipating) two central processes of anticipating (BSPP) and negotiating (BSSP) are linked and related. Essentially anticipating is the intrapersonal element and implementing is the interpersonal element of the process of adolescent persuasion. The intrapersonal and interpersonal processes of adolescents prompting change and adaptation will now be described in more detail.

Table 2

Conceptual Levels, Processes, and Types of Functioning

| Conceptual Level | Process | Type |
|---|---|---|
| Intra-personal | Anticipating | Orientation |
| Inter-personal | Persuading | Process |

Three related processes are important descriptive elements of teens' relationships with parents. Anticipating , persuading, and redefining the balance of autonomy are all central to adolescents' styles of attempting to manage change.

Anticipating is an element that directly affects persuading style. Teens identified their need for more independence and described persuading in a variety of forms. Redefining the balance of control in the adolescent-parent relationship and achieving increased autonomy are the implied outcomes of adolescents' attempts at change. Because persuading change is an interactive process, it is observable in a variety of forms within the adolescent-parent relationship. Arranging change in degrees of autonomy and self-determination, or rather persuading parents to agree to some adaptation of family structures leading toward acceptance of greater degrees of adolescent independence, appear to be the processes that engage most adolescents at this age.

Essentially 'negotiating independence' results in a shifting of balance in the adolescent-parent relationship. The shifting appears to result in a redefinition of the norms, limits, and routines of family functioning. The primary area of adjustment is the shift between the adolescent's definition of self-needs and definition of others' needs. To a greater extent teens incorporate their understanding of others' needs into adolescent plans and react accordingly. Consideration of 'self versus other' for the adolescent is a conceptual balance between the concern for self-needs and awareness of others' needs.

The second aspect in the adolescent-parent relationship that requires adjustment and balance is along the continuum of independence-dependence. The balance of who controls what and how much control the teen has seems to be open to discussion, persuasion, and negotiated adjustment. Control of who has influence in decision-making and what level of independence is acceptable are both issues that are "negotiated" by adolescents and their parents. The style of persuasion is directly related to the degree and range of anticipation and seems to determine the basic style of relating between teen and parent.

The redefinition of the relationship is both an outcome of each problem-solving episode and an on-going process of adjustment between teen and parent. As a result of arranging more independence, adolescents have opportunities to define themselves as more able and competent. It appears that part of the persuasion task facing adolescents is to convince parents that the teens are as competent as they themselves feel they are. As this definition of being competent is accepted more and more by parents, the teen becomes more involved and influential in contracting agreements for change within the relationship he or she has with each parent. The 'negotiating' for change that begins with small and simple adjustments of limits and routines eventually results in changes in the independence/dependence balance of the teen-parent relationship.

From reviewing the data in the categories, explaining and discussing the findings-in-process with supervisory committee and research seminar members, sorting the explanatory and theoretical memos, and constructing a cross-tabulation of typologies appearing in the data, patterns emerged that accounted for variation in teens' interaction styles. The patterns of persuasion as affected by teens' levels of anticipation and parents' assessment of teens' competence will be discussed in the next section.

## Anticipation-Persuasion-Relationship Typologies

In addition to coding and categorizing data and developing memos, the cross-tabulation of emerging types is another analytical method of discovering concept indicators that relate to the BSP. A cross-tabulation of types that were found as a result of diagramming the processes of persuasion assisted in developing the concept of styles of adolescent persuasion (See Figure 2). At first glance at the range of problem-solving styles of these adolescents it appeared as if there were two basic styles of persuasion: nagging and negotiating. Further examination clarified the extent of teens' anticipation and the range of needs they considered and subsequently revealed another style of persuasion. Convincing by providing selective bits of information to parents in order to gain approval was identified as the third type of persuasion.

The fourth type of adolescent style became more clearly defined as a result of considering the criteria for the other types. By cross-tabulating the types of interaction, the criteria for the selection of one or another influencing tactic became more apparent. Parents' assessment of the adolescent competence and teens' assessment of persuasive needs appeared to be the criteria for choosing the type of persuasion tactic. The fourth interaction style, essentially choosing not to approach parents and choosing not to attempt any persuasion, was clarified by the cross-tabulation and completed the identification of the criteria for choices of action. The differentiating criteria of both the teens' perception of parents' assessments of adolescents' competence and adolescents' assessments of self/others' needs identified and clarified the resulting styles of teen/parent interaction.

From the interview data and as described in the model of the persuasion process (Figure 1), adolescents appeared to attend to varying degrees of needs. From the adolescents' viewpoint the three levels of needs are (a) self-needs, (b) situational persuasive needs, and (c) others' needs. The range of anticipation represented by these levels of perceived needs influenced the style of negotiation These orientations are also represented in the cross-tabulation by cells one, two, and three. The criteria for the fourth cell, of the teen reacting primarily to his or her own needs yet still considered by parents to be able and competent, led to the clarification of the additional fourth type. That fourth type includes the teen demonstrating an assertive style, assuming independence, and detaching from involvement in persuasion. The teen in this fourth style is just 'opting out' of persuasion because he or she considers persuasion to be unnecessary. Should the teen realize that persuasion attempts will be unsuccessful he or she either withdraws or acts independently and decides to be deceptive in getting what is wanted without parental permission. This variation of 'opting out' is represented in cell one as deceiving.

Composite Descriptions of the Cross-Tabulation

Cell One. This type of adolescent is very self-centred and concerned primarily with getting what he or she wants. There is virtually no consideration of others or little consideration of what is needed as far as a communication and relationship style. The interactive style is essentially competitive with each request being approached as a contest. Nagging or repetitive pestering and repeating a request is the typical style of persuasion for this type. Sometimes this teen will confront parents and try to pressure them into agreeing and sometimes this teen will withdraw and become deceptive and sneaky. The deception usually includes claiming to be in one place when they are at another doing something that parents would not approve of. This teen just goes ahead and does it even without parental approval therefore winning the contest.

Cell Two. This type of adolescent has become aware that in order to get permission he or she must provide parents with enough information so that they feel comfortable approving the request. These adolescents do not seem to be aware of the parental concerns that fuel

Figure 2

Cross-tabulation of Types of Adolescent Relating

| **Teen Assessment of Needs** | **Parents' Assessment of the Adolescent**<br>Able and Competent<br>(+) | Doubting - not quite able and competent<br>(-) |
|---|---|---|
| **Role-Taking**<br>Considering others' needs<br>(+) | 'Being partners with parents'<br>(Negotiating)<br>Cooperative 3 | '"Managing" parents'<br>(Convincing)<br>2 Manipulative |
| **Self-Centred**<br>Reacting to own needs<br>(-) | Assertive 4<br>(Detaching)<br>'Opting out' | 1 Competitive<br>(Nagging)<br>confronting or deceiving<br>'Competing with parents' |

this need for information and need for predictability. Adolescents functioning at this level are essentially manipulative as they are likely to provide just enough information to allow parents to visualize the teens' behavior at the dance or party. Of course the teen describes good behavior and gives examples of how he or she will show good judgement if and when it is needed. These teens are trying to be convincing and there is some flavour of manipulation in their approach to persuading parents.

Cell Three. This type of adolescent is aware that parental concern is often hinged on their worries about the teen getting into trouble or getting hurt. When making a request these teens are aware of parents' needs and respond by validating those concerns. These teens are essentially dealing with parents as peers sharing similar concerns. They will provide examples of appropriate self-management. Adolescents functioning at this level often use the question 'why?' in a non-challenging manner to access parents' rationale for their decisions. The value of this tactic is that once known the rationale may be challenged with logic, reason, and prepared rebuttal statements by the adolescent. These adolescents use their ability to consider others' viewpoints and needs to prepare and anticipate reactions. These are more complex problem-solvers with a greater repertoire of techniques assisted by the range of their awareness and extent of their anticipation.

Cell Four. This type of adolescent is assertive and confident that he or she is able to make competent judgements within his or her realm of decision. Adolescents at this level of functioning or adolescents dealing with issues within this realm can opt out of persuading parents to approve a request. They are more independent and self-directing on some issues, while on others they would do more negotiating. Generally a teen with this type of functioning would inform parents what he or she is doing rather than ask for permission. Teens at this level have likely demonstrated sufficient maturity in a particular area that seeking permission is redundant and unnecessary.

It is conceivable that the movement from Cell One through to Cell Four types of interaction with parents is influenced by cognitive, emotional, and social maturity of the adolescent. This progression will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter. It is interesting to note that for the teens in this study each one appeared to have a typical type of approach when trying to secure permission. When they met with a refusal by parents they would resort to the type of persuasion that was characteristic of the next lower cell. A negotiator would provide more information and attempt to manipulate an agreement A manipulator would resort to nagging and a nagger would either withdraw or be deceptive in getting what he or she wanted.

Descriptions of Processes and Interactions

In keeping with the inductive-deductive nature of the Grounded Theory method and the constant comparison of data, codes, categories, and memos to maintain the 'grounding' of the emerging theory or model in the data, the categories and sub-categories of data were re-sorted to verify the typologies. Glaser (1978) identified two operations in constructing typologies. "One is reduction: moving from criteria to the typology. The other is substruction: moving from the typology to the criteria. Substruction reverses the normal reduction process by looking for the implicit criteria from which the typology had been unawarely constructed" (p. 66). Re-sorting the data is a substruction to clarify the interview data that contribute to the identification of the typologies and the definition of the central processes of anticipating and negotiating. The re-sorting also enabled a description of the data that relates to each cell of the cross-tabulation.

The following section will present the categories and subcategories derived from the interviews with adolescents. Their descriptions illustrate the elements involved in each cell as the adolescent redefines balances of autonomy and control in the teen-parent relationship through anticipating and negotiating.

### Thinking Ahead/Anticipating

Essentially there are three levels of anticipation that strongly influence the teens' style of relationship with parents. Teens think ahead about their own needs or they also think ahead about the needs of the persuasive situation or they also think ahead about the reactions and needs of parents. Some teens in this study thought primarily about their own needs in a somewhat self- centred manner. Other teens anticipated that certain information would have to be provided to parents, while yet others were able to anticipate even further and consider others' viewpoints while convincing them to go along with the teen's proposal. The following section describes and demonstrates the extent to which thinking ahead, anticipating, is a factor in adolescent approaches for change in the family.

Getting on the good side. [cell 2-3] As far as teens are concerned there are two techniques of influence prior to asking: *"buttering them up"* - *"getting on the good side,"* or describing previous good judgement in a difficult situation. ""*There were people drinking and I didn't drink and I told them that....*" Describing past good judgement is a description of potential responsible behavior.

"*If it is something that I might not get away with, I usually try and help my mom or dad a lot so that I get on their good side and then I ask them....then I'd probably get to go.*"

Another teen talked about preparation for asking her mother for permission. "*She is really uptight about people being late. I butter her up by getting into the car in perfect time, carrying her stuff and starting the car and turning it around. I get her in an okay mood. Sometimes she doesn't notice that. I will just bring it up when we're pulling out of the driveway and she'll probably say yes or a polite no and then I will convince her to do it.*"

"*Being a good kid*" varies from doing housework to making a special effort to get along well with siblings."*I find myself doing everything that they want me to do, like things I don't usually do.*" "*I be a good little girl around the house. I do the dishes, clean my room, vacuum the floors, vacuum the patio.*" The end point is the request. "*Then I pop the question, 'can I go' so they go 'you do everything just to get the way you want.'*" The answer to that was quite simple: "*No, of course not, I just love you.*"

Flattery has its place even though it is quite a transparent attempt to get on parents' good side. "*I just asked them if I could go and after a few questions they said 'well we'll think about it' and then I went downstairs and as I was going I was saying 'what nice parents they were, not being sarcastic about it, I just said it so they laugh and I say it so it will help. Then they called me and said I could go.*"

Attending to the needs of parents and showing some effort as a family member are options of influence used by teens. Trying on the parents' points of view seems to open up the possibility of getting on the good side.

Gaining trust - being a good kid. [cell 2-3] It appears that there are advantages to teens in being trusted by their parents. Realizing this need, teens then have to figure out how to build trust and that requires teens to attend to parents' expectations so teens can then fit in. *"There have been a lot of times that I have not been responsible, when I was younger I used to lie all the time....So they didn't trust me for a long while and then I started doing things that were responsible, I'd do things out of the blue that he never thought that I would ever do...I did it and I did a good job, then he sort of gained back his trust in me."*

Another teen talked about trust as an element of influencing favorable decisions. *"You just have to build up their trust because I got into a lot of trouble before....I introduce my friends to my parents now and they seem to like my friends."*

*"Trust right now is a big thing, I want them to trust me."* Parents presumably evaluate the teen's reliability according to his or her trustworthiness. If teens and parents are arranging some sort of contract for behavior away from home, the parent wants to know the teen will follow through as arranged. Teens seem to know that being trusted is an element under consideration by parents. Deliberately gaining trust seems to be an example of adolescents accommodating to parental needs, in order to influence a decision and to solve a problem for the teen.

Within each of the previous categories of persuasion technique, teens demonstrated a range of ability. The difference in range depends not only on how far ahead they can think, but also on what they think about.

Rehearsing - "I plan my words". [cell 2-3] The strategy behind the phrasing of a request seemed to be important. *"I ask myself how I'm going to word it, I just do it in my head. I sort of plan my words."*

Teens talked about presenting the best case so that they would get a *"yes"* the first time instead of having to work around the *"no"* at their first request. *"If you can, keep them from saying 'no' in the first place....they don't usually say 'no' if I can figure it out first that I can get a 'yes'....you figure it out in the first place. Like you have a problem and then you don't go right up to them and ask them, you think of a way that you can word it or that you can make it sound so that they'll say yes in the first place."*

Details of the requested event need to be prepared in advance. The details help appease parents' concerns. *"They wanted to know exactly what was happening and...we had to figure out how we were going to convince our parents."*

*"Sometimes they say 'maybe' and then they'd start asking questions about it and who's going to be there and what's going to happen...they just ask questions about what's happening."* The prudent teen anticipates these concerns or questions.

Some teens prepare their responses in advance almost like a rebuttal in a debate. Anticipating the responses or reactions from parents allows the teen the advantage of rehearsal and the preparation of answers. This anticipation may show parents that the teen is prepared and is aware of the contingencies. The adolescents' descriptions indicated that they believe that parents are more likely to agree to give permission when they are aware that the teen is prepared for potential problems. Parents want assurance that the teen is prepared to exercise reasonable judgement in dealing with drunk drivers and rowdiness at parties or needing a ride home. The teen's ability to forecast for parents may be somewhat influential in easing parental concerns about the teen away from home and family.

Choosing who, when, where, and how. [cell 2-3] A certain amount of planning is part of solving a problem. Teens anticipate who will be more receptive, when it is the right time to ask, where they should make the request, and how they should best frame the question. Some teens thought they did not have enough influence with parents, and sometimes teens cannot anticipate what needs to be done. *"I don't think you can handle parents. You just have to cope with them through the good and the bad. It's just like I have to do a thing at the right moment. It's just all in your timing."* For this teen timing made all the difference and she felt that she had little real influence.

Teens need to assess parents and rate their potential receptivity to the teen's proposal. Timing and mood are important. *"If mom is in a bad mood I will tell my friend 'I don't think I should ask her yet... because she is not in a very good mood'...or if mom and dad are talking at the dinner table I wait until they are finished."*

Some teens didn't know when it was *"the right time to ask"* and would just ask *"whenever."* Others would say *"I know her pretty good so I can tell if it's the right time to ask....After supper she'll be sitting at the table and she calms down a bit. Then I look at her and say to myself 'is that one that should be asked or is that one not,' and then I decide.*

*After fifteen years I think I know my mom pretty good so I'm not off by much. I guess pretty good."*

Considering parents' stress and fears. [cell 3] If influencing a parent to say *"yes"* is the goal, the teens seem to know from experience that parents are fairly predictable in needing to have a supposedly accurate picture of the event. Parents also need to reliably predict the teen's promised behavior while the teen is in the situation. The teen needs to anticipate the request for information and be prepared to give it. *"Just making them aware of what was happening, making sure it was okay and basically making sure that I was where I was , so there would be no way that I would be able to get drunk...but just so that I wouldn't get into trouble."* Some teens have learned to anticipate the need for details and often have them ready prior to asking the parent.

*"If parents trust you then they'll give you more freedom to do what you want but if you got into trouble...or lied to them...they're not going to let you go because they'll think that you're going to do something bad because they don't trust you."* Teens know they must do something to ease the worries. They are anticipating that something must be done to show parents that teens won't*"do something bad."*

## Persuading

This section discusses three styles of persuasion. The competitive, manipulative, and cooperative styles of persuasion range from nagging as adversaries to negotiating as peers. Teens' anticipating and planning discussed in the previous section lays the ground work for the actions of actual persuasion. The levels of anticipation, from primarily self needs, to self needs and situation needs, to self needs and situation needs and others' needs, seem to determine the style of persuasion. Primarily self-needs oriented teens have a persuasion style that is nagging and competitive. Teens that focus on the needs of the situation tend to be manipulative in their persuasive style. The teens who are able to consider the perspectives and needs of others are those who are more likely to act as if they are negotiating change and adaptation. The following sub-sections illustrate the influence of levels of anticipation on the styles of persuasion.

## Competitive Style

Nagging and bugging. [cell 1] The process of nagging or *"bugging it to parents"* is connected to an influence strategy of persistent repetition of a request. A notable feature of nagging is that it is a fairly simple approach for the teen to use in trying to convince a parent to make or change a decision. The use of nagging as a problem-solving style is directly in contrast to a negotiating style where more options for action or compromise are utilized.

*"I just kept nagging at her and whining and complaining 'you never let me do anything, you over-protect me.' Basically nagging is just going away and coming back a lot. It just doesn't matter what I say, I mean I could just sit there and 'blah, blah, blah, like please, please, please' that's the only word I would be able to say and sometimes that would work and sometimes it doesn't."*

*"Nagging at her and chipping away usually gives me what I want. Just chip away a little bit like 'come on please' and then 'I'll be really good, I'll clean my room'....I also tell her everything that happens so that the next time I'll be able to." "Chipping away"* represents a belief on the part of the teen that he or she can gradually

change a parent's mind about a decision. It may be that the parent is still contemplating the decision, or the decision may be a *"maybe"* that signals the teen to indicate a strong desire to do whatever is being requested. Inconclusive responses by the parent may invite teen persistence in asking. These teens described different types of 'no' such as the definite no, the quick no, the mediocre no, the weak no. They seemed to know when 'no' meant 'no!' and when 'no' meant 'maybe'.

*"The more I want her to say 'yes' the more she is going to say 'no'...she just keeps filling up and saying 'no, no, no,' more and more. The more I keep nagging the more she says 'no.'...so I just go away and let things calm down for a while and then I go back and she's not as defensive and I'm not as defensive."* The teen's timing and management of persuading shows an awareness of relationship dynamics but a lack of range in problem-solving techniques.

*"She goes 'no' and I go 'why not' and she goes 'because' and I go 'why not' and the answer she gave me, I didn't feel that that was good enough. I guess I just couldn't see her point of view at the time....I don't know what I could do different. She might not have been in a very good mood that day."* The challenge to the parent of the *"why not"* questioning may have prompted some reluctance to giving in. The parent may have been reacting to a lack of maturity in the asking style and acted to maintain control over someone who is not aware of the safety and trouble risks while beyond parents' supervision.

Battling it out. [cell 1] One teen described a *"major debate"* as yelling at her mother and her mother yelling back. Sometimes the teen yells and the parent calmly sits quietly, refusing to reply in that manner. *"Talking it over is fast and flip,"* calmly sitting down and making arrangements, while *"battling it out is where they don't agree with it and I want to go so bad I am just yelling and yelling."* One teen said, *"I figure my parents are very over-protective...so I usually battle it out."*

Some teens have not yet achieved a comfortable sharing of views with parents. In one family the teen knew parental values, especially father's authority, was not to be questioned.*"They were getting theirs out [opinion] and I think it should be an equal split. If you're to communicate properly, everyone should be heard. Like when you vote, your vote is there for a reason and that's because you want your say....when you are communicating with anybody both sides should be heard. Just like in a court, they have courts to hear both sides."*

Dealing with "no" and parents' control. [cell 1] *"The worst kind of 'no' is from my mom and that would be that there's just no two ways about it. I have to do this and there's no changing her mind....If I were to get around it it would have to be through my dad. Sort of having him back it up on my side and then maybe getting her to change her mind."* Teens in this study had a relationship style that was distinct for each parent. The main distinction between parents was that one was generally either more open and sympathetic, or the one who made the decisions. This parent was the parent most likely to be approached.

Some teens felt they were destined to disagree.*"It's in our blood to be stubborn....she'll say 'no' and I will be wanting her to say 'yes' and it will get into this power fight where whoever caves in first has obviously lost the fight."*

Another teen commented about her dad.*"That's the way he thinks and I'll never be able to change him."* Yet another said, *"I'm always trying to fight for what I want but it always ends up...my parents are always in control."* From the perspective of these teens there is little they can do to influence one or sometimes both parents. The teen's view seems to be that you must accept things as they are essentially coping with your parents.

Deceiving. [cell 1] Not all teens engage in persuasion all of the time. The teen who acts in a deceptive way to do something that parents would refuse permission for is going after what he or she wants but does not involve parents. The parents may have been asked but refused or they may have just been bypassed because the teen knew in advance what the answer would be.

Sometimes keeping quiet works for the teen.*"Some things I just don't say, you just don't tell them."* This teen withheld the information to avoid having a refusal that would be more difficult to work around. As noted in the manipulative section keeping quiet or acting sincere are ways of withdrawal from attempting some change.

*"I hinted at it but she would have said 'no' anyway."* This indicates a small attempt to influence a decision but the teen ended up sneaking out and doing what she wanted without asking and without permission. Other teens planned to miss busses or be stalled at friend's houses so they could go places and do things beyond parental supervision.

*"I think you need to be sneaky when you want to do something when your parents aren't going to let you do something. I wanted to go to a party and my parents didn't want me to go so I arranged to sleep*

*over at my friend's place and then went to the party from his house."* Being in one place when parents think you are in another is a form of deception used occasionally by teens.

Asking why. [cell 1] Being able to ask why is a request for the rationale of a parental decision. The question why can be asked in at least two ways. The first use of why occurs in a whining tone of voice and was demonstrated in interviews. The question was used in the context of some nagging and persistent pressuring by teens. The second use of why was in a less emotional and less challenging tone of voice; it was a gentle challenging of parents' rationale. There appear to be two contrasting styles of attempting to influence a change of decision--nagging and negotiating. An important difference between the two approaches is in the style of asking the question why.

The teen makes several decisions in the persuasion process. One of the most important is the decision of whether to continue attempting to change the parents' reaction to a request. The teen asks, the parent decides, the teen chooses to continue or accept the *"verdict."* When the parent says no to a request and gives a reason, the teen may have a response that meets the needs of the teen as well as the parent. *"Sometimes it depends on the reason. If it is a valid reason or if it's just sort of a reason that I can work my way around."*

Another teen also appears to have a standard of evaluation for parents' reasons. *"She usually comes up with some kind of an answer that I don't think is justifiable. I don't think it is good enough....So I get mad, upset with her. When I get mad at her she tries to think of a different reason but it is still not good enough."*

The evaluation of a reason as being valid or invalid is a decision point for the teen. The notion by the teen that he or she might be able to *"work around a reason"* is evidence that some teens approach the problem-solving exercise as one in which they have some influence over the outcome. This approach is in contrast to merely asking permission and then accepting the outcome without further challenge.

*"They say 'well I don't think I need to give you a reason'.... they'll say 'no' and I'll say why? They'll say you don't need an answer, I just said 'no.' I want them to explain themselves so I can figure another way around it...but they don't tell me why."*

In this reported exchange the question 'why' is used by the teen but the reply by the parent suggests that 'why' is used here in a different manner than the more conciliatory 'why'.

Another teen describes her use of the question in an attempt to influence. *"I plead. I ask again and I say why, why not? They'll tell me and I'll say no, that's not right. That's not why and I'll ask again."*

Yet another teen searches for a reason for the parental refusal that she can accept as valid as far as she is concerned. *"Whenever I wanted to go somewhere he'd say 'no' and I'd get mad because I didn't see why I couldn't go because I didn't do anything wrong." "Seeing why"* has to do with reasons that are accepted by the teen. It means accepting the other person's point of view and accepting the decision of a parent. The teen challenges the decision by the parent in a variety of ways, from being somewhat or outright antagonistic, to the more rational and egalitarian approach of seeking to discuss the rationale.

### Manipulative/"Managing" Style

Making sure they know everything. [cell 2] A common thread throughout teens' descriptions was that in asking a parent to approve a request, teens had to be able to predict and describe details of a situation yet to come. *"I have to make sure that she knows, like she'll want to know everything; but I have to make sure I have all the information before or else she'll get iffy about it....See if I'm not sure about what time I'll be home or if I'm not sure who's doing what or driving, she doesn't like that."*

*"In little ways I can get her to say 'yes'. It usually works when I tell her what I'm going to be doing and who I'm going to be with and what basically going to happen....She needs to know a lot....I generally assure her that I know what's going on and I'm not, like nothing's unexpected."* Teens do make attempts to assist parents to relax about a proposed event. Simple problem-solving may involve merely stating that *"I will be all right,"* or*"I can handle it, I am a big girl now."* A more involved approach to meeting parents' need to know is demonstrated when some teens acknowledge the parents' specific fears and verbally contract to act responsibly.

If the teen is not prepared with information, then perhaps the teen is not prepared to act or react as parents want the teen to react. From these teens' descriptions of the amount of information they feel parents need, it appears as if the completeness of the information may be an indicator for the parent as to how prepared the teen is to handle the situation.

Making them feel they are in control. [cell 2] An illusion of control in the relationship is held, in varying degrees, by both teen and parent. Parents have significant control as evidenced by the teen asking for permission. The teen has some measure of self-control and is gaining more influence in the process of negotiation. In a family, no one can have any sense of absolute control and teens with their parents appear to be gradually defining some mutually comfortable sharing of the balance of power. The problem-solving process is the forum for working out changes in relationship and changes in responsibility, as arranged on an issue by issue incremental basis. Problem-solving is the means of learning how to influence others, shift limits, and generally deal with obstacles to achieving goals.

Some teens in the study made reference to "*iffy*" parents as those parents who react by indicating they have inadequate information to make a decision. The question to the teens then, was, what does a teen do to handle an "*iffy*" parent?

*"First of all you make them feel like they're in control. You make them feel that they know everything and that they have control over you and that you will do nothing wrong, that you are the perfect child and then you hit them with it. 'I won't be home till twelve mom.'"*

The intent was to influence the parent to feel good, and then stretch the limits. Helping parents with the impression that they "*know everything*" and that "*they have control over you*" presumably puts a parent at ease. At least that appears to be the view of this teen. Control implies that the parent has influence beyond the home whenever the teen is acting independently in a situation external to the home. An impression gleaned from this quote is that parents have some sort of extended control that is effective when the teen is on his or her own, or at least that is the impression this teen wants to leave with her parent. The belief that the teen will do nothing wrong as the "*perfect child*" is an assurance that the teen will not do anything to put him or herself at risk. Presumably, the parent can therefore comfortably grant the request. The teen's influence in this instance seems to be in putting the parent at ease.

*"You let them know what you were going to do...It also looks like I always tell them what I'm doing, so they think that they know what's going on. It kind of makes them feel better about themselves because they think they know what's going on with me all the time....They think that they are really good parents because they brought up a really good kid....It helps me because they have trust in me after that and then they'll slowly let me have more freedom and freedom when you are a teenager is definitely important."*

Providing information to parents remains an influential thing for teens to do. As this teen has learned, a little manipulation of information is also helpful in getting what you want. The teen knows parents need all the information for a comfortable decision, so the teen maintains a certain amount of control over the flow of information. This is part of teens' influencing technique.

*"When I look at my mom I can tell if she's in control or if she feels like she is in control. When I think she's in control, well she is in a good mood. She's in control, then she says 'yes' to whatever I want. When she is in control she doesn't give me that 'iffy' look because she is in control then she feels that she knows everything she has to know."*

Another form of influence over parents is bluffing by telling them something not quite true yet plausible. This teen described her technique of solving problems as involving *"a lot of yelling or a lot of persuading."* As an example, she described a common bluff that she uses. *"Oh come on, I have been planning this for a long time, you said I could. Like I always do that, I always say, 'you said I could' even though she never said. I don't know if she remembers whether she said it or not but I say it and sometimes it works."*

A variation on manipulating is the teen's asking for more than she really wants and settling, as a result of the negotiation compromise, for what she really wanted. Mom gets to feel like she has some say in the decision yet the teen used a fairly subtle manipulation. *"Sometimes if I want to do something and I am pretty sure she's going to say 'no', I'll just ask for something bigger, even if there's nothing bigger planned. Like I wanted to go to a dance and I was pretty sure she would say 'no' so I asked if I could go to the dance and sleep over at Joyce's, and she said 'no.' I kept going into that and eventually got her to say 'yes' to both. Later I said 'Joyce said I can't sleep over anymore so can I just go to the dance?"*

Acting sincere. [cell 2] Influencing parents to be more gentle when they are reprimanding appears to be a necessary and a handy skill for some teens. *"If you get a sad face or do something that will look like you are really sincere when you are sad then sometimes they will stop yelling....You have to look sad then sometimes they think that you're sorry."*

Manipulation of parents by looking sad solves a problem encountered by most teens. *"Like I wasn't really sorry that I did it because I wanted to do it, but I tried to look like I was sorry when I did it....Because if you look like you're not really paying attention or that you don't really care then they get mad at you."*

Another teen decides when being confronted to *"start acting* *dumb or innocent"* as a way of soothing a parent's anger.*"I think she knows I am saying it sarcastically but I'm also saying it innocently so she won't get mad at me."*

Keeping quiet - "I feel in control of it". [cell 2] On occasion the teen will be in trouble and subject to a reprimand from parents. While some choose to argue back, others have a more restrained approach. *"I just sit there and listen."* This self-control allows the teen to reflect on the comments from parents and appear to be attentive and to benefit from the parents'*"words of wisdom."* This self control also allows the teen to carry on a private dialogue with him or herself that reflects the teen's true reaction. *"It wasn't even worth my while to say what I had to say because things had to be their way anyway and now I just go along and don't say anything....I feel more in control that way because when you are fighting back you are just as low as the next person....You're no better than they are....Now I just sit back and I listen and I think through what they're saying but I don't say what I want to say although they think I say what I want to say. I say a few little comments like 'oh sure' or 'okay', it's not exactly a positive comment but it's just there to show how I feel and they think that's exactly how I feel but there is more behind it....I feel more mature because I'm not fighting back in that way and I feel in control of it."*

Being a little dishonest. [cell 2] *"They ask if the party is chaperoned and then I usually tell them the truth or else I say I'm not really sure or something like that and they usually let me go....Some things you just don't say, you just don't tell them, because they'll say 'no' and then you have to work around that. I know it's being a little dishonest but the party was nothing big anyway."* Control of information or selective informing seems to work sometimes for teens. The teen feels she or he should be trusted. It is also easier to manipulate a *"yes"* from parents than work around and change a *"no."*

Another version of being a little dishonest is the ploy of being one place when parents expect you to be at another. *"I think you need to be sneaky when you want to do something when your parents aren't going to let you do something. I wanted to go to a party and my parents didn't want me to go so I arranged to sleep over at my friend's place and then went to the party from his house."*

Co-operative Style

Helping parents anticipate change. [cell 3] The permission-seeking episode turns into problem-solving for the teen when he or she has to convince a parent that the outcome of receiving permission will be predictable and comfortable for the family. Essentially the teen is in a position of convincing a parent that the teen has anticipated all of the possibilities of the situation. It appears as if the teen needs to predict that if there is drinking at the party then he or she will not drink. They explain that if there is a fight at the dance then he or she will leave the dance. They promise that the teen does not do drugs, never has and never will. These assurances from teens demonstrate an awareness of a parents' concerns that must be considered by teens.

Presumably the teen is describing how he or she will behave, and attempting to secure approval for the request based on that promise of behavior. The teen's main problem-solving role at this point appears to be describing in detail all logistics and promising reliable and responsible behavior. If the teen is able to reassure the parent that he or she is able to handle the event, then perhaps the parent is more able to accommodate the teen's request. The teen's approach seems directed at reducing parent stress connected to the request. The teen is asking the parent or parents to accept a small change in routine and to accept the teen acting slightly more independently. Teens want to manage themselves without direct parental control. The success of persuasion/negotiation seems to hinge on the teen's ability to manage parents' stress. If the parent can anticipate responsible, safe behavior, then the parent will approve more independent functioning.

*"I went to this party and there were people drinking and I didn't drink and I told them that, and you are sure that they know that, and then they trusted me afterwards, so you just kind of build up their responsibility....By bragging to them about the good things you do....I was trying to coax them that I was as good as I said I was and I was not this bad kid they saw before....It's a con job. Well, you're being honest but it is a con job."* One of the forms of cooperation seems to be advertising and affirming that one's adolescent values are in line with perceived parental values. Promotion of one's ability to act in accordance to a parental value may be seen to have some impact on a parent's comfort in letting the teen attend a party or other social activity. One teen commented that she had to make sure that she phrased her requests in such a way as to avoid two trigger words: boyfriend and party.

Teens make efforts to provide detailed information to parents so that the parent can anticipate the situation. The teen is essentially describing an event in the future and making a proposal. The adolescent anticipates so the parent can anticipate so that the teen has more influence in the decision.

Soothing fears and easing parents' stress. [cell 3] *"When I want them to say 'yes'...first you make sure they know everything. Where I'm going to be and everything....If it's something that they're not going to worry about then there's no problem so by making sure they're not worrying about anything they usually let you go."* Teens who know what things cause parents to worry can do something to ease those concerns. This variation of increasing the predictability of adolescents' proposed activities shows them dealing with parental fears for teens getting into trouble.

*"She doesn't come right out and say 'I'm worried about you' but she says 'I don't want you getting hurt or I don't want you getting into any trouble and when I was a kid things were different so now you might get into trouble."* This teen and parent are talking in a kind of code when they use the words *"getting hurt"* or *"getting into trouble."*

Although the language is not clear, the message is clear. *"It's what they insinuate. They say 'what happens if it is something you can't handle comes along' and you just see in their eyes so I understand what they are saying. I tell them there's nothing to worry about."*

*"I usually try to reassure her that I'll be fine and that nothing is going to happen and if it is I'll accept full responsibility."* The teen does what she feels must be done to *"totally reassure her about everything."* Some teens used very specific references to things they thought their parents were worried about. Others used vague references such as *"I can handle it"* and *"I'm responsible"* in an attempt to be reassuring. Some parents reportedly make comments that they are worried or that

they don't want the teen to get into trouble or get hurt. These phrases are understandable yet are less specific than other comments such as being worried about drinking and driving.

The worries or fears for safety can be described under the two headings of cautions: cautions about not getting hurt and cautions about not getting into trouble. Teens and parents seem to have an almost implicit understanding of the real concerns inherent in these somewhat general cautioning comments.

*"I think they worry about whether you're going to get in trouble, get drunk, get stoned. They worry about what kind of people you are with, will you steal a car or get into trouble with the law."*

*"If I want to go to a party they won't let me go because they are afraid of booze. I think this is a very common problem with my parents because they have heard so many stories....They don't want me to get hurt."* Some teens and their parents have more specific discussions and negotiations around the worries. Other teens and parents have general discussions about vague concerns and dangers as parents perceive them.

Providing information eases parents' worries and that makes permission easier to achieve.*"When I want them to say 'yes'...first you make sure they know everything. Where I'm going to be and everything...If it's something that they're not going to worry about then there's no problem so by making sure they're not worrying about anything they usually let you go."*

The teen "knows" how to handle trouble but parents are not aware of the teen's ability. *"The asked me why there is nothing to worry about and I said, 'because I've been in that kind of situation* *before' and they went, 'you have.' they said 'oh, okay.' So I guess it reassures them in a way."*

Occasionally the teen relays to parents some of the details of actually managing a difficult situation and dealing with events that required the teen to use what parents would consider good judgement. *"Generally I tell her what happened so she knows for next time."*

*"She always tells me she doesn't want me to go to parties where people get drunk. I said, 'I don't associate with people who get drunk at parties and I don't go to parties where people drink and if I do I leave' because I don't drink or anything like that."*

These comments from different teens demonstrate their awareness of the stress that parents feel about the safety of their adolescent. The challenge for the teen is to provide enough reassurance that the teen can and will avoid getting hurt or getting into trouble. Sometimes the reassurance is just vague promises; sometimes it is specific recitations of personal values about not drinking and not taking drugs. *"They want you to be prepared to deal with it and sometimes they don't feel that you can."*

Staying cool. [cell 2-3] *"If I were to get all emotional about things they just wouldn't want to listen. You don't get anything accomplished. You are just ranting and raving about things and not seeing them clearly. I realize I am going off the topic and then I start to say ' well wait a minute, I can calm down here, and I start to calm down and I realize what they're saying and then I start to get back on track and look at their points of view."* Not all teens can manage this level of detachment or this level of self-control to regain a calmer reaction. Sometimes, with more simple competitive styles of problem-solving, nagging and argument by the teen is the chosen method of persuasion. The teens who anticipate what is going to happen make more effort to stay calm,*"like trying to keep your cool when talking to them and not getting all emotional about everything."*

Talking it over. [cell 2-3] Another aid in dealing with the problem of understanding parents and therefore working with them or around them is getting an objective perspective on the relationship. *"I try to figure out...be a middle person just listening to both sides....I try to understand it through that way."* Sometimes the teen does not trust her own perspective but the comment indicates an awareness that there are other perspectives.

The benefits of talking things over with parents are fairly obvious to some teens. *"Usually at supper time...we air it out, basically everything....You can't bottle stuff in. If you talk about it you feel release of tension, well I do at least."* It is not clear if *"talking things out"* has an influential function in parent decision-making, or if it is just a relationship feature that serves to moderate teen and parent reactions.

### Assertive Style - Opting Out

The fourth cell of the cross-tabulation represents a type of adolescent reaction that is an asserted and assumed independence as a style of confident opting out instead of negotiating. *"I just don't get them involved."* Another variation of not involving parents comes as a result of teen frustration with parents, *"And I thought, 'nope, I am not going to struggle with this anymore'."* This type of reaction does not involve any persuasion but rather a form of opting out where the adolescent chooses an independent course of action.

A non-negotiating reaction is assuming independence and not asking parents for a decision or approval. Some teens made independent decisions for activities with friends or even choosing what school to go to.*"It was my decision what high school I went to. I made that decision and I thought it was totally up to me....I feel that something like that I should be able to take into my own hands."*

Sometimes teens would bluff,*"I am not going to school tomorrow Mom,"* in an attempt to be more independent. When teens would just inform parents about what the teen is doing it would be concerning activities already managed by the teen. *"I'm going jogging Mom and I will be back at 4:30."* Presumably these activities are within the teens' realm of decision and do not represent any risk as far as parents are concerned. The next segment describes some of the reasons and actions teens take to be independent and not negotiating for approval.

## Independence

The relationship between teens and parents is the forum for change in the family. As has been described in this study, the means of change are many and varied. In this segment teens describe some of the factors that push them toward seeking more independent functioning away from the family. The means of independent functioning seem to be within the persuasion/negotiation interaction between adolescents and their parents.

*"It's just really I hate growing up. Sometimes I want to go right to eighteen...just to be able to get into the car and take off wherever you want to go, just by telling your parents where you will be going and when you'll be back. Growing up is a pretty sensitive time because you*

*feel like you don't get your way anymore. More responsibilities are being laid on you."*

*"I think my parents are smart enough to realize that as I get older there's more freedom that I need...You need to be able to make some decisions on your own. Those decisions, can be important ones, it depends on what the decisions are. That is a freedom that you need. Making your own choices....just going places and doing things or everyday decisions."*

*"If you're not an individual by yourself then you can't feel like you have any freedom at all. Someday you are going to have to find yourself...you will be looking at all these other people and not yourself and it's important to be able to look at yourself....to see yourself as a full person, unique. If you know what you want, if you know what you want to be, it makes everything a lot easier I think. Then you have your perspective straight and you know where you want to go....When I get older I hope I don't have my parents around to tell me what to do but as you get older you make those choices totally on your own and you need to learn how to make those choices, you start now when you are younger."* The need to be more autonomous and self-directing is a thread of motive running through these adolescents' negotiations of change. These comments about independence were not common in the teens' interviews yet a great deal of their actions in persuading change with parents seemed directed toward gaining a greater degree of autonomy and self-control over decisions affecting them. Negotiating independence will be discussed further in the next chapter.

The teens' comments about their approaches to parents demonstrate the four cells of the cross-tabulation in the real terms of their experiences. As has been indicated in Figure 1, the persuasion styles of adolescents are affected by the degree to which they anticipate needs. The extent of planning, strategy, and anticipation by adolescents appears to have a demonstrable affect on negotiation styles. The next section is a discussion of the persuasion/negotiation styles with supportive description by the teens in this study. The styles of persuasion and negotiation that range from relatively simple approaches to more complex and cooperative styles appear to represent a developmental progression.

## A Developmental Process of Teen Persuasion Styles: From Competing to Manipulating to Being Partners

Once teens are able to foresee the next level of persuasion needs, they can act on them as well as acting according to their earlier needs. Teens start thinking primarily about what they want, then they can also consider how to manipulate agreement, then they can also consider parents' perspectives and see what the teen can do to make agreement easier. 'Thinking ahead' as a basic social process is a progression toward greater competence in problem-solving. The competence comes from anticipating how teens' actions can fit with the needs of the situation and fit with the needs of parents. The progression within 'thinking ahead' is an integrated hierarchy. The abilities of one stage are subsumed within the next stage.

The stages of 'thinking ahead'--considering one's own needs, considering the needs of the situation, and considering the needs of parents--are represented in three styles of teen persuasion. Thinking primarily about what the teen wants or needs is demonstrated by a competitive style of approach to parents. Thinking about the needs of the situation and the means of persuasion is demonstrated by a manipulative style of attempting to convince parents. Thinking about parents' needs, showing concern for parents' worries, demonstrating reliability, and seeking agreements through negotiation is demonstrated by being partners with parents.

The three levels of the developmental process reflect the three stages of 'thinking ahead'. The following sections will provide details of the three levels of the process of negotiating change and increasing autonomy within teen-parent relationships. Within each section the two components of strategy and tactics (anticipating and persuading) are noted, and descriptive quotes and comments are provided.

## Developmental Levels of Persuasion-Negotiation

There is a range of approaches to persuasion represented by the many options available to teens. Not all teens are yet aware of all that can be done to influence a favorable decision. This range of awareness and the possible approaches to the problem of persuasion determine the level and style of approach.

This model has three stages and the transition points are reasonably clear. Teens who think primarily about what they want and who nag or pester parents for a change of decision are acting in the competing with parents style. When teens begin thinking about what parents need to know and which parent is more on the teen's side, then they begin to convince parents and manipulate agreement. When teens start asking 'why?' and begin negotiating agreements as opposed to merely asking for permission, they begin dealing with parents on a more egualitarian basis. When consideration is given to the needs of parents as well as to teens' own needs, an attitude of mutual respect is possible and they are being partners with parents. Approaching with the perspective of showing concern, sharing information, and establishing trust leads teens to a role that can be described as partnership.

## Competing with Parents - Nagging and Pestering

Some teens approached seeking permission from parents as a contest and a problem in which parents hold a great deal of the power. Some teens reacted to a parent's refusal with anger and frustration. They then proceeded to apply pressure through arguing, nagging, and persistence in trying to get the parent to reconsider. The teen's perspective seemed primarily selfish, *"I want it, I want it, I want it and there is nothing they can say about it, I want it."* or alternately, *"Sometimes we would just argue until we both got really mad and I went off to my room and we were both slamming doors."*

Characteristic to this style of problem-solving was the lack of anticipation of reactions, objections or even choosing the more agreeable parent. These teens seemed to rely on the parent's mood, timing the request, and teen promises of responsibility in order to influence approval.

Not Anticipating. One of the characteristics of the competitive nagging style is the absence of anticipation and preparation prior to asking. *"I basically can understand my parents and know what I can get away with."* If getting away with something is the goal, then this orientation is competitive. Getting away with something also implies a certain level of strategy applied to solving the problem. These examples show the self-centred approach and competitive tone of the interactions.

*"She usually comes up with some kind of an answer that I don't think is justifiable. I don't think it is good enough....So I get mad, upset with her. When I get mad at her she tries to think of a different reason but it is still not good enough."* This teen and parent are on opposite sides, and the 'ammunition' in the contest appears to be arguments that are either good-enough or not good-enough.

Another teen said, *"I'm always trying to fight for what I want but it always ends up...my parents are always in control."* In the division between what the teen wants and what parents want, this teen does not feel she has much influence. She can try to get what she wants but does not have enough control over a decision.

*"She goes 'no' and I go 'why not' and she goes 'because' and I go 'why not' and the answer she gave me, I didn't feel that that was good enough."* The back and forth exchange between teen and parent is a type of contest in which nobody gives much ground. The parent is not offering much rationale for a decision and the teen does little more than confront,*"why not."*

Persuading. *"I plead. I ask again and I say 'why, why not?' They'll tell me and I'll say 'no, that's not right'. 'That's not why' and I'll ask again."* The back and forth challenging, with lack of acceptance of the others' position, is quite competitive and suggests that only the outcome is to have a winner and a loser.

*"They say 'well I don't think I need to give you a reason'.... they'll say 'no' and I'll say why? They'll say you don't need an answer, I just said 'no.' I want them to explain themselves so I can figure another way around it...but they don't tell me why."* Challenging does not bring much of a result other than a stalemate. The teen needs to do

more anticipating or guessing of the reasons so that he or she can get around it. If parents are not providing more background to the reason, then teens have to figure it out.

*"I don't think you can handle parents. You just have to cope with them through the good and the bad. It's just like I have to do a thing at the right moment. It's just all in your timing."* This teen does not feel that he or she has much influence. If timing is the avenue of persuasion, then problem-solving is not co-operative at all. There are two sides and sometimes factors such as timing or mood make the difference.

*"'Oh come on, I have been planning this for a long time, you said I could'. Like I always do that, I always say, 'you said I could' even though she never said. I don't know if she remembers whether she said it or not but I say it and sometimes it works."* The teen in this instance uses the tactic of deceit to try to win agreement.

*"It's what they insinuate. They say 'what happens if it is something you can't handle comes along' and you just see in their eyes so I understand what they are saying. I tell them there's nothing to worry about."* Telling parents,*"there's nothing to worry about"* is an attempt to reassure but has little substance. This is an attempt at simple persuasion without recognizing either the needs of parents, or what is needed to persuade them to agree.

*"She'll say 'no' and I will be wanting her to say 'yes' and it will get into this power fight where whoever caves in first has obviously lost the fight."* Problem-solving can sometimes be a contest and whoever is the louder, more stubborn, or has more stamina wins.

The competitive style of persuasion seems fairly contentious, with teens feeling as if they have little actual power to influence decisions. They rely on timing, moods, nagging, persistence and argument to solve their problems of change and permission.

## Convincing Parents - Manipulated Persuasion

These adolescents are aware that certain conditions must be met in order to secure an agreement. They make some effort to *"butter up"* mom and dad, they choose which parent is the more *"understanding and open"* and they know they must provide a detailed description of the upcoming event so parents can anticipate how the teen will behave and handle potentially risky situations. The teens' anticipatory preparation and attention to the details of potential objections allows the teen to prepare a defense of the request. It appears as if these teens don't really want to provide all this information to parents because doing so would be an affront to teen independence, but they do it enough to convince parents that the teen can manage. Essentially the teen and parents are working out a contract of behavior. When a teen asks himself, *"is their reason valid or is it something I can work around,"* he is considering what he must do to convince parents that he is able and prepared. The teen provides information and offers promises of conduct in order to gain an agreement.

Anticipating. *"First of all you make them feel like they're in control. You make them feel that they know everything and that they have control over you and that you will do nothing wrong, that you are the perfect child and then you hit them with it. 'I won't be home till twelve mom.'"* Manipulation of parents to help them to feel comfortable with the teen's request is typical of this stage of problem-solving. Teens are becoming more aware that certain conditions must be met to influence approval.

*"If you can, keep them from saying 'no' in the first place....they don't usually say 'no' if I can figure it out first that I can get a yes. Like you have a problem and then you don't go right up to them and ask them, you think of a way that you can word it or that you can make it sound so that they'll say yes in the first place."* Strategy and tactics of persuasion play a part in teens gaining more influence over the outcome of seeking permission.

*"I try to see things from their point of view, what they would respond after I ask them and I try to think of the answers as to what they will ask me."* Anticipation of parents' reactions permits the teen to plan a reply that meets their need of adequate information. The teen is anticipating the questions but not yet anticipating the reasons for the questions.

*"If you get a sad face or do something that will look like you are really sincere when you are sad, then sometimes they will stop yelling....then sometimes they think that you're sorry."* Managing the proper impression seems to be a useful skill for the teen. There is some manipulation of parents in an attempt to solve the problem of being in trouble.

*"You just have to build up their trust because I got into a lot of trouble before. Trust right now is a big thing, I want them to trust me."* Creating trust is an attempt to create a favorable reaction from parents. The teen is aware that trust is a need of the persuasion situation, and that the teen can do something to meet that need.

Persuading. *Sometimes if I want to do something and I am pretty sure she's going to say 'no', I'll just ask for something bigger,* *even if there's nothing bigger planned....so I asked if I could go to the dance and sleep over."* The plan is a classic: ask high and settle low. The teen is prepared to manipulate the situation so that the parent feels all right about giving permission. This stage of problem-solving is still concerned with gaining permission and teens are concerned with how to get it. There is still an impression that the encounter between teen and parent is a contest, but teens are using more approaches to gain permission.

*"I have to make sure that she knows, like she'll want to know everything, but I have to make sure I have all the information before or else she'll get iffy about it."* An *"iffy"* parent is one that has doubts about the teen's ability to handle a situation like a party or a dance. Teens try to meet that concern by preparing information and providing as many details as are needed by parents.

*"Just going away, like leaving and coming back and letting her calm down and think about the whole thing and then I will be thinking about little ways I can get into her again. Just what her response would be and then little side tricks I could go into that would make her say yes or make her agree with me."* Teens need to be aware of parents' reactions to requests. This awareness permits teens to revise the strategy and moderate the approach.

Teens may feel that they are actually 'managing' parents' reactions by manipulating impressions and providing enough detailed information. Teens become more aware that parents require information about a proposed event and expect a degree of reliability from the teen. Teens also begin to realize that there are needs other than their own that affect the outcome of requests. While persuasion styles at this stage show some aspects of simple manipulation, there is also a growing awareness by teens that conditions must be met prior to approval of their request.

## Being Partners With Parents - Co-operative Negotiation

Co-operative persuasion/negotiation entails convincing parents and reassuring their concerns by approaching parents from a more reasoned 'adult' perspective. Being partners with parents as a teen problem-solving style includes teens articulating some values similar to their parents' values. This sharing of values serves as a means of reassurance to parents that the teen is as concerned and cautious as the parent might be. Opening up a discussion to explore the rationale of the parents' decision is a mature style of negotiation that seems to be an effective persuasion style.

Being asked to make a decision on a teen's request entails parents anticipating both the teen's behavior and the outcome of granting approval. According to teenagers' perceptions, the following factors influence teens' tactics of negotiation; a parent will likely agree to a teen's proposal if the situation is one in which the parent can predict that the teen will act within limits acceptable to parents; parents experience varying degrees of stress with almost every teen activity that is away from home and family; and a persuasion/ negotiation style that attends to the potential sources of parents' anticipatory stress and attempts to nullify those stresses will likely be more effective than one that does not address potential worries.

As teens become more aware of parents' needs, teens can strive to meet those needs and be more persuasive because they have dealt with parents' concerns. Reducing parents' stress about a proposal influences agreement. As far as some of these teens are concerned it seems as if parental agreement with teen proposals is the outcome that reinforces the style of cooperative negotiation.

Anticipating. *"Sometimes I can't understand why she's saying, 'no' but then if I thought like, 'well this is my kid doing this.' I usually put myself in an adult role and say, 'well if my kid was doing this I don't think I'd want them doing it either.' So I can, sort of, role play and switch roles."* The ability to see things from another's perspective allows teens to appreciate the concerns and needs of parents. Once aware of parents' points of view, teens are able to include these perspectives in the range of needs to be considered as part of problem-solving.

*"I went to this party and there were people drinking and I didn't drink and I told them that, and you are sure that they know that, and then they trusted me afterwards, so you just kind of build up their responsibility....By bragging to them about the good things you do....I was trying to coax them, that I was as good as I said I was, and I was not this bad kid they saw before."* Building up credibility with parents seems to be the strategy. If the teen can let parents know that he or she acts appropriately, then perhaps they will be more accommodating. The proposed agreement seems to be if I act in a responsible way, then will you let me be more independent or self-directing?

*"I try to figure out...if you could be a middle person just listening to both sides....I try to understand it through that way."*

Teens at this stage of problem-solving seem to be well aware of other's perspectives. They seem to realize that there is some advantage in *"understanding"* from a neutral stance or just in understanding more about others' viewpoints.

Persuading. *"She always tells me she doesn't want me to go to parties where people get drunk. I said, 'I don't associate with people who get drunk at parties and I don't go to parties where people drink and if I do I leave' because I don't drink or anything like that."* Sharing parents' values helps parents feel comfortable with the teen's conduct away from home. The values may be similar to those of parents, and so the teen may be becoming more like the parent. If teens' expected behavior is predictably close to acceptable limits, then parents may more easily agree to teen requests.

*"Generally I tell her what happened so she knows for next time."* Descriptions like this contribute to predictability, and build up teen credibility. Teens are building an impression that they are responsible and capable individuals.

This teen shares information and concern with her mother, and the relationship of sharing is a partnership of sorts. *"She is more open to what I am saying. She will open up and listen more because she knows I am concerned about her so she will be concerned about me back."*

*"They asked me why there is nothing to worry about and I said, 'because I've been in that kind of situation before' and they went, 'you have.' they said 'oh, okay.' So I guess it reassures them in a way."* Describing actual instances where the teen handled difficult situations is much more reassuring that merely promising *"I can handle it."* Teens at this stage also deal with specific worries and fears of parents. The discussion between teen and parent is not as general as it was in talking about *"getting hurt or getting in trouble."* The talk is specific as

teens describe how they will react or have reacted. Teens deal directly with parents and react more on an equal basis.

*"I realize I am going off the topic...and I start to calm down and I realize what they're saying and then I start to get back on track and look at their points of view."* Looking at parents' points of view implies that teens consider others' perspectives in a somewhat rational and considerate manner.

An important difference between the two approaches of attempting to influence--nagging and negotiating--is in the style of asking the question why. Teens at the cooperative stage of problem-solving are more likely to ask why in an attempt to open up discussion about a disagreement and gain access to parents' rationale for their decision. This rational and reasoned approach to seeking influence is much more 'adult' than nagging and bugging.

A basic difference between this style of problem-solving and the other two is that teens who are 'being partners' with parents are working toward arranging an agreement rather than getting permission. These teens are demonstrating behavior and values more like their parents' than the teens had previously shown. They have learned more about parents, understand them better, and have more influence because of it. Teens at this stage have learned that the needs of parents, their concerns for teen safety and concerns for predictability, have to be addressed. These teens have persuasion styles that incorporate their own needs, the needs of the situation, and the needs of parents. They are more likely to work out a compromise solution that addresses mutual needs of family members. In working co-operatively and arranging a compromise by assimilating needs other than their own, they have become partners with parents in problem-solving.

The three levels of the developmental process are representations of the three stages of the persuasion styles model as affected by the degree of teens' anticipating. The role of anticipation in teen problem-solving styles has been demonstrated in the descriptions by teens that illustrate competing with parents, convincing ("managing") parents, and being partners with parents. The levels of the model are not exclusive but represent an integrated hierarchy where the qualities of one level are included within the qualities of the next. By reviewing the complete transcripts of each adolescent it was clear that these teens do not remain within one style of persuasion. A teen may present their proposal at a manipulative level and when met with a refusal, reply with a rebuttal that is characteristic of the competing with parents level. Another teen may begin at the cooperative negotiating level and have to reply with information and persuasion that is characteristic of the manipulative convincing level of functioning. Depending on the sensitivity of the issue teens may also choose to opt out of any attempt to persuade. From the transcripts, the general impression of adolescents' persuasion styles was that they would begin their "negotiation" at their highest level and reply with less adaptive responses when a parent was difficult to convince.

The development of persuasion/negotiation styles is additive and reflects the accumulation or acquisition of a broader awareness of needs relevant to teen problem-solving/persuasion. The developmental progression is from being primarily concerned about oneself, to being concerned about self and situation needs, to being concerned about self and situation and others' needs. These levels of awareness affect the style of negotiation and the style of relationship between teens and each parent.

## Relationships of Teens and Parents

*"My mom and dad just think they're looking out for the best for me and I guess they're right. Don't you just hate it when mothers are always right?"* This comment by a 15 year old girl encompasses some of the many elements that characterize teen-parent relating. There are absolutes of right and wrong, grudging agreement, parent protectiveness, and the struggle between conflicting views.

A male teen commented about his relationships: *"I wouldn't say my dad is more easy going, he is just more willing to let me take responsibility. He is stricter about it but he is willing to let me do it....My mom, I'm not really worried about whether she gets mad or not. I don't feel I have any control over her because she doesn't usually win the argument but she usually gets her way and I usually don't get mine but I'm not scared of her as much as I am of my dad."* The complexity of this teen's description indicates something of the range of elements that must be considered and perhaps balanced in the relating between teen and parents. Dad is strict but more permissive than mom. Mom is somewhat disregarded yet there seems to be a win-lose contest as part of their relationship. Finally parents can lose an argument and still have control and influence.

One of the sensitizing concepts of this research was the conjecture that teens have different relationships with each of their parents. Teens' reactions to parents illustrate the influence of their relationship as teens seek to arrange change in the family routines, limits, and also seek to enhance their own independent functioning. Teens' descriptions of relating with moms and dads begins to give us a more focused picture of this important family variable. Teens' relating with mothers and with fathers, and the 'shuttle diplomacy' of "go ask your dad - go ask your mom," will be described in the following segment.

Teens and Mothers

*"I first go to mom because she is easier....She is the softy of the two...dad is so protective, he just won't let me go....She understands how I feel, I think that has something to do with it....she'll try to understand by saying 'oh, yeah, when I was your age, this and this and this, and she actually opened up to me and showed that she was like me at one time and that to me is really understanding."* This teen values being understood and appreciates the openness of the relationship with her mother. In the context of the rest of her interviews this description of how mom *"actually opened up to me"* indicates a new level of bond not previously experienced by this mother and daughter.

*"My mom's way easier...real soft."* Mothers can be manipulated or influenced. This comment was fairly typical; teens couldn't really take advantage of their mothers but mothers were generally described as being more open, agreeable, and sympathetic.

*"I usually make most arrangements with my mom...because she is home every day....I usually talk to my mom more than my dad even when they are both home."* Availability was a common factor in why teens chose their mothers over their fathers when making requests or arrangements. There were, however, other factors to consider.

*"I like to work things out with my mom. Basically because she is easier to talk to and then I give it a shot with my dad."* In this case, mom was the person to talk to for a trial run of a proposal. Some fine-tuning with mom prepared the teen for making the pitch to dad. One possibility is that mom is easier and good for practising getting permission. Another possibility is that mom is considered by the teen to be allied with the teen as a supporter; it would be two against one. This is another persuasive technique of teens.

According to the transcribed descriptions of these adolescents, Moms are generally asked more often and asked first. Sometimes this selection by the teen is because mom is the*"softy"* or one more likely to agree to the teen's request and therefore not create a problem for the teen. *"I usually go to my mom first because if I ask my dad he'll just say 'go ask your mom,' so I usually just end up going to her in the first place."* Sometimes moms are asked first because, in the teen's opinion, they are the ones who decide anyway. The teen thinks it is easier to go to the one who has the power to decide. The other possibility is,*"I usually ask her first because she's the toughest one. If she says 'yes' then dad's going to say, 'yes'."*

Teens and Fathers

*"Like I can't talk to my dad. I know I can, but we don't have the same kind of problems."* This daughter bases her choice of parent to approach on perceived similarities which supposedly influences understanding.

*"My dad says we have a good relationship but I don't think so because he is never home."* The two sides of the relationship are open to separate interpretation. Teens' evaluation of the relationship seems

to be effected by time together and shared activities.

*"Usually we always ask my mom if we can do this or go there and she usually will say 'yes' and we'll never ask my dad because we always know that the answer is 'no."* From the teens' point of view the choice of parent is sometimes simple: you just go to the one who is going to agree with you.

The impression gleaned from the teen's descriptions is that dads either delegate,*"I think he leaves it up to mom to manage us kids,"* or participate in problem-solving upon referral from mom or when it *"gets serious,"* he will either get involved or get called in.

*"As for having friends over I just ask my mom but parties or going out or transportation, he's usually involved."* The decision of responsibilities, like the realms of decision, is an informal sorting of who is in charge of what. As perceived by teens, parents have areas of expertise or areas of responsibility that serve to simplify decision-making about requests.

*"It depends on where I am going, if it is just over to my friend's house it doesn't matter who I ask but if I am going out for the evening they both know....I usually only ask one of them when things aren't very important."* The hierarchy of requests from less important to more important seems to determine who gets involved in a decision.

*"Sometimes I'll just ask my dad and he'll go 'ask your mom.' It always ends up that the other person finds out anyway."*

In some families, dads participate in a more egalitarian manner where they are either approached equally by teens or approached first. Teens described going to their father for a decision when it had to do with more practical and concrete matters such as transportation and purchasing, while mothers were approached for permission for social events and relationship issues of boyfriends or girlfriends.

Fathers occasionally had a moderating role when the teen was in a conflict with his or her mother. One teen reported that his dad said to his mother in the middle of a teen-mother argument: *"Go easy on him, he needs his freedom too."* Sometimes teens thought of the father as the one whose opinion could more easily be modified. *"I can change him more easily than my mom."*

If I were to make generalizations of parent-teen relationships based on the discussions by teens in this study, I would conclude that mothers are open and understanding people to talk with concerning personal relationships. Furthermore, fathers, when they were around, would be either the final authority or called in for *"serious matters."* Other than that, a husband would defer to his wife for decisions about the children. In some of the families, fathers played the role of the one who was more likely to agree to a teen's request and was willing to moderate his wife's decisions regarding permissions. *"My dad will step in if I'm getting too carried away with something."*

A female teen said, *"My dad, him and I don't really get along. It's kind of like oil and water....If I asked to do something he'd be like 'wait until your mom gets home, she will be able to tell you."*

Another teen said, *"It's usually just my mom because dad is always gone or ...I feel uncomfortable talking to my dad. I could always talk to him about sports and stuff like that but with mom if something is on my mind we talk about it."*

A female teen talked about being afraid to *"face up"* to her dad.*"I am scared to face up to him and I am scared to face up to mom and say* *the wrong thing to her because she will go to dad and then it's just a vicious circle."* Apparently, for this teen talking about relationship differences is a delicate problem. She is afraid to say too much or say the *"wrong thing." "I can talk to mom about dad [as in how do I talk to him] but talking to mom about mom, trying to fix things between my mom and me, I can't do that because she clams up."*

*"It is kind of like a two-way street. I'll do something for my mom and she will do something back for me....With my dad it's basically a one-way street....My dad thinks he is doing all the giving but then again, sometimes I think I'm giving all the giving."*

*"I just ignore dad most of the time because, my dad is like a dime, you flip it and it's one way or the other....he will be really nice to me or for something completely different he will be mad at me for doing it the wrong way. He flips right away and so I just try to stay away from him so I don't have to put up with his flipping because it's really confusing."* When teens have confusion about how to deal with what they consider a difficult parent they pull back from the relationship. Consistency and predictability seem to be preferred by teens just as they are preferred by parents.

In teen-parent problem-solving as observed in these teens' conversations, fathers were either consultants for their wife or a second-level of decision for more *"serious"* issues. Mothers were the person more likely to give support and the person more likely to independently decide, so teens often approached mothers first.

### Shuttle Diplomacy - "Go Ask Your Dad - Go Ask Your Mom"

The process of being referred to the other parent is a common feature of most families. Sometimes the referral is made because one parent wants some support from their parenting partner. The referral is a type of consultation with the teen as the vehicle of communication. Referral is also a means of demonstrating that both parents are involved in the decision-making. A parent might also defer to the other parent because the request is within their particular realm of responsibility. *"If dad says, 'no' then I'd go and ask my mom. If she says, 'no' then I know they won't change their mind....But if she says, 'yes' then I know there is some doubt so I'll go back to my dad and work on him...If by chance I do ask him first and he says 'yes' then I'll ask mom and if she says no then I can say, 'dad said yes.' Then she goes, 'well does your father know, all the details?' and I go,'yeah ...Sometimes she says, 'okay' so usually if it's okay with him I have him to back me up."* If the teen is turned down by both parents then there is obviously no chance of approval. If one agrees and the other disagrees with the request then there are opportunities for the teen to manipulate information and try to influence agreement.

*"I'll ask dad and he'll go, 'what did mom say' and then whether she said, 'yes' or 'no,' I say she said, 'yes' and then he'll go, 'well, okay.' So if dad says 'yes', I can go."* When asked how she gets away with that she said, *"it's not hard because mom's usually in the house and dad's in the garage"* and essentially in this family the father has the final say in the decision. It was this teen's opinion that dad had the final say, but a vast majority of her comments about dealings with parents involved just her and her mom. *"If it is an important subject, he makes the decision."* Apparently mom still instructs her daughter,*"you go and ask dad but make sure you tell him I said 'no.'"*

*"I'll usually say 'I'm responsible, like I know what I'm doing,'*

*and she still says 'no.' I'll say 'dad feels I can do it' and she'll say 'well I don't know."* It appears as if the teen is able to sway her mother's opinion by invoking the apparent approval of her father as a vote of confidence in the teen.

### Summary--Toward Independence

*"Learning how to make choices"* is a condensed description of the process of growing up. Teens and parents are connected in a relationship that is evolving and somewhat open to influence. The challenge for teens is not only to make the choices but learn how to negotiate. Beginning with making adjustments in their relationship with parents and making adjustments in the family routines, teens use persuasion and negotiation as styles of interaction that serve to redefine their roles and status as a more independent person in the family.

This chapter has presented the BSP of 'thinking ahead' and demonstrated the influential role of teen anticipation by explaining the categories of persuasion and negotiation styles. The developmental process of teen persuasion, as a reflection of the three stages of anticipating describes how teens approach the permission-seeking and persuasion interaction. Teen styles of persuasion and negotiation vary depending on the degree of anticipation and the range of needs that they consider. The next chapter will be a discussion of these results and will elaborate on the findings as they relate to other models of adaptation and negotiation.

# CHAPTER 5

# DISCUSSION

This investigation yields the discovery of central relationship factors that affect adolescent styles of persuasion and negotiation. Following a discussion of research methods and sampling concerns, the findings of the study are reviewed in the context of family theory and adolescent development. Finally, suggestions for further research are discussed.

## Qualitative Research - Grounded Theory

Qualitative research with teens provided the opportunity to explore an area of family functioning that has had little previous investigation. Because problem-solving/persuading styles by teens is relatively unexamined, the open-ended qualitative research approach allowed for a discovery orientation. The active-interactive nature of teens' and parents' relating fit the Grounded Theory focus on process descriptions as the key exploratory element. The inductive nature of qualitative research on teen approaches to persuasion provided a fresh approach in a field that is sometimes inconclusive and at times contradictory. The inductive-deductive nature of Grounded Theory enabled a description of key family processes supported by data that was collected, sorted, and ordered in a codified manner. Descriptions of actual problem-solving/persuasion encounters, in the present or recent past, provided the opportunity to understand the how and why of teen attempts to influence change.

## Discussion of Research Methods

Research with adolescents presents some problems because of the wide range of development within this stage. It is well known that cognitive, emotional and social development of adolescents does not correspond closely enough to chronological age to allow comparisons based on age. The age of 15 years was chosen as the median age for participants in this study because, according to clinical experience and the literature on adolescent development, at this age teens and parents can begin to experience significant conflict due to the teens' needs for greater autonomy and control. The impetus for this research was the question of how teens manage to solve problems of change and adjustment with their parents when many teens seem to struggle for understanding and resolution of joint problems. A fairly narrow age range was sampled; the participants ranged from 14 years-4 months to 16 years-1 month. Within this range considerable variation of responses, experiences, and approaches was found. The descriptions of teens' experiences persuading change provided a range of details that contributed to the discovery of social processes that affect teens' persuasion style.

### Interviews and Discussions

Interviews that were open-ended discussions about interactions with parents, provided teens with ample opportunity to describe their personal experiences, opinions, and perceptions of trying to persuade or otherwise resolve issues with parents. My intent was, as much as possible, to encourage the teens to discuss and describe their experiences. In their commentary, teens provided descriptions of both what they did, and why they did it. I accepted these descriptions, the what and why, as being complementary and mutually supportive, and they both served to elaborate the processes of persuasion. The beginning question, "how do you make arrangements with your parents, or what do you do to work things out with them," was general enough to provide entry to the research area without unduly restricting teens' perspectives. The opening questions focused the discussion on teen approaches to influence parents to adjust to the teens' needs. The discussion by teens about relationships and interactions with parents was eventually wide ranging and represented a full spectrum of their experiences.

## Telephone Interviews

Telephone interviews were used in this research and worked well as a means of data collection. There are several advantages in interviewing over telephone. Audio-recording was unobtrusive because I used an answering machine attached to the phone. More than one interview could be completed in a night as there was no travelling time involved. This also enabled me to interview teens from a wide geographical area. Most teens are well acquainted with long conversations on the telephone and as such this procedure was familiar and apparently comfortable for them. An additional benefit of phone interviews was that they allowed direct access to the teen and minimized parental interference; this was essential because this study was designed to be only from the teens' perspective. Face-to-face interviews necessitate finding a quiet spot in the teen's house, usually disrupting family routines and making the interview with the teen an extra-ordinary event. Telephone interviews are more casual and less disruptive yet provide the opportunity to have involved and detailed discussions.

Following the first interview with the first teen I was concerned about the viability of telephone interviews. Shortly after that interview was transcribed, I interviewed this same teen in a face-to-face interview, covering similar aspects of her persuasion style. This face-to-face interview had two purposes. One purpose was to validate the teen's comments by repeating some of the questions. The other purpose was to assess any difference of results from the two interview formats. While some of the questions were identical to those asked on the phone, some of the discussion was an elaboration of the previous discussion. There was virtually no difference between telephone and face-to-face interviews.

Three other teens received face-to-face interviews. Those interviews were followed about a month later by phone interviews. The quality of information and apparent comfort with the process was comparable. In one of the face-to-face interviews, in response to a teen's commentary, I must have displayed a facial reaction that she took as a cue. It appeared to me that she had a reaction of doubt, somewhat like 'is it okay to feel that way?' I made a reassuring comment to counter-act the apparent visual cue. I think that the physical presence of an interviewer, with some teens, may be an interference factor that does not arise using phone interviews. Deatrick and Faux (1989) suggest the use of same gender interviewers when conducting research on topics sensitive to adolescents. The telephone somewhat masks gender and can provide more anonymity for teens. With a phone interview there are no visual cues and few auditory cues. I could also easily make notes and form further exploratory questions while listening. An informal interview guide developed as interviewing progressed. Aspects of persuasion that were raised by one teen could be explored with others. This procedure provided confirmation, elaboration, and validation of common teen experiences.

## Sampling Considerations

The adolescents in this study were solicited from a fairly wide cross-section of schools and locales. These teens lived either in a large city, in one of two small cities, or on rural acreages. They were approached by me to be part of a study on teen-parent relating and problem-solving. A high response to the invitation to participate is attributed to the direct personal appeal.

One potential participant declined to be in the study. Following the qualitative principle of purposeful sampling (Morse, 1989), one person was rejected as an unsuitable participant prior to interviewing and two were interviewed only once. Purposeful sampling is selecting participants who are "knowledgeable, articulate, reflective, and willing to discuss their experience" (Morse, 1989, p.117). The rejected participant was rejected because of her parents' adverse reaction. This reaction was noticed by me even though the teen was still willing. Of the teens who were interviewed only once one was rejected because he felt very awkward in the interview, he had to be prompted too much, and I felt that further interviewing would not yield adequate commentary. The other teen had no apparent issues with parents and since he reported general compliance with parents' views and little desire to change any routines he represented a negative case component of the sample. As a negative case of adolescents who seek change in family norms this teen was opting out of persuasion.

## Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

There are two limitations and two delimitations to this study that may restrict generalizability of the results to this sample. The limitation is one that applies to all qualitative research and relates to the question of generalizability. The delimitations are potential restrictions related to the range of selection of participants.

While generalizability is a desirable outcome of the experimental model quantitative research, it is not necessarily the goal of qualitative research. Grounded theory researchers search for meaning, seek to understand process and reactions. Reviewers may attribute a fair measure of generalizability to the Grounded Theory findings when they fit with their own experience, and provide acceptable insightful explanations of individuals' behavior and reactions. Generalizability is the hoped for outcome but not the only claim of Grounded Theory researchers.

A second limitation was that some teens needed prompting to give full descriptions. While interview probing styles should be minimally intrusive, occasionally participants need to be asked for more detail, for the chronology of events, for their reactions to others, and for their rationale of their own behavior. Once they were in a question and answer mode of interview some of these participants had to be asked for examples of experience rather than giving just their interpretation of their persuasion routine. Descriptions of experience are necessary for 'thick' and descriptive grounded theory models. Talking at length about varieties of relating with parents may have been unusual for some teens. However, according to some teens they were quite practised at commiserating with friends as they discussed their parents.

A delimitation was that although the participants were selected from a fairly wide area, they were all within a similar socioeconomic level. Parents of sampled teens are Nurses, Pharmacists, Secretaries, Oil-field workers, Managers, Administrators, Small-business owners, Electricians, and Teachers. Teens were selected on the basis of age, descriptive verbal ability, comfort with discussions, and willingness to participate.

A second delimitation of the study was that teens who were noticeably delinquent or at great odds with their parents were not included in the study. This type of adolescent was not purposely excluded but neither were they deliberately included. It may be speculated that the persuasion style of those teens would vary somewhat from that of the teens in this sample. Teens who were members of divorced, single-parent, or step-families were also excluded from the study.

These limitations and delimitations do not necessarily detract from the importance of the information obtained in the study. The identification of the effect of anticipation and planning in teen persuasion styles, the discovery of a possible progression toward competence as represented by the developmental aspects of the persuasion styles model, and the description of the persuasion/negotiation process containing steps and options for teens, all contribute to our knowledge of these elements of teen-parent adaptation.

## Discussion of Findings

The following section will discuss the Basic Social Process of 'thinking ahead' that emerges as the key element affecting adolescent persuasion/negotiation styles. A description of the persuasion styles model in this section outlines the steps and stages of persuasion and negotiation styles. I will review the theoretical connections between Selman's negotiation strategies model and the persuasion styles model. There will also be discussion of role-taking by teens as interpreted by Cooper, Grotevant and Condon (1983) and role-taking, role-making, and definition of the situation as elements of social interaction described from a Symbolic Interactionism perspective. The interaction style of feed-forward by teens will be discussed and related to the styles of influence by teens. Teens' differential relating with each parent will be described as elements of family adaptation.

## The Basic Social Process - "Thinking Ahead"

'Thinking ahead' - (anticipation), as the discovered core category of this Grounded Theory study, is a key factor that determines persuasion style. Teens think ahead about their own needs, about what is needed to manipulate agreement, and also what parents need in order to agree with the teen's proposal. The progression of thinking ahead about the needs of self, of self and situation, of self and situation and parents, is represented in teens' descriptions of persuasion techniques. Some teens use only one self-centered style. Other teens are able to anticipate further, demonstrating a broader range of persuasion styles. The teens who described nagging and bugging parents in an attempt to change a decision, also described argument, yelling, *"stomping away,"* and threatening to run away as reactions to parents' refusal. The teens who described their approach to parents as one of calm challenge of parents' rationale also described reasoned discussion where they deliberately put themselves in a parent's role to assess *"how she would feel if this was my kid."* These teens were more likely to achieve an agreement as an outcome rather than merely a a granting of permission.

Anticipating and Persuading

'Thinking Ahead' has two main components--planning and taking action--that reflect anticipating and persuading as the elements of strategy and the tactics for adolescent persuasion. Planning involves any anticipation and preparation in developing strategies to influence parents. Taking action includes all varieties of persuasion and tactics to influence an agreement. Generally, teens think about what they need to do, and then they do it. The further they think ahead, and what they consider as they anticipate, determines their style of persuasion and the degree of negotiation.

Each stage of the persuasion styles model (self needs orientation, self plus situation needs orientation, self plus situation plus others' needs orientation) is composed of the two components of anticipating and persuading. There is a change in the degree of anticipation with each stage of the persuasion styles. In the persuasion style of the teen thinking primarily about his or her own needs, (self needs), there is relatively little anticipation of consequences and a larger degree of impulsive action. In the persuasion style that has the teen thinking about their own needs as well as their need to gain/manipulate permission, (self plus situational needs), there is much more anticipation and relatively little impulsive action. In the persuasion style of more cooperative negotiation, (self plus situation plus others' needs), extensive anticipation is the essential element of preparation that not only determines the teens' approach to parents but also affects the parents' style of response. As the ratio between anticipation and impulsive reaction changes, with increasing anticipation and role-taking, there is a progressive development in persuasion style toward real negotiation instead of just seeking permission.

What is notable about this range of options is the degree to which these adolescents anticipate needs, reactions, and others' perspectives. Teen persuasion techniques are deliberately directed at managing impressions and influencing reactions. Teens have opportunities to demonstrate increasing levels of responsibility. Teens also provoke their parents to think ahead as parents need to anticipate what will happen if they agree to the teen's proposal. By providing the details of the situation teens hope that parents are reassured that their teen is able to manage.

Whether teens know it or not, incidental problem-solving and attempts at persuasion seem to provide a forum for gradual redefinition of the relationship. The question with each request is, who is in charge here? Is it the teen, the parent, or a combination. This question, more than any other, defines the teen-parent relationship. The answer to the question appears to be negotiated in a variety of forms over time and is a generally unintended outcome of teen efforts to influence change on relatively minor issues such as permissions for activities.

## The Model of Adolescent Persuasion Styles

This model includes levels of adolescent anticipating, styles of teen persuasion, and the resultant types of independence. The style of persuasion appears to be a 'barometer' of the relationship style that exists between teen and parent. If we accept that adolescents' attempts to persuade parents to agree to some change in the norms affecting the teen are attempts to gain more autonomy and self-determination, and that the parent-teen relationship is variable therefore reflecting relative degrees of independence, then the different persuasion styles should be considered as indicators of different levels or types of independence. The types of independence first discovered as a result of cross-tabulating types of persuasion (Figure 2) and initially indicated by the fourth cell of opting out behavior led to the discovery of other types of relative independence. The types of independence are added to the persuasion styles model to show the relationship between style of persuasion and level of independence. Independence will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

The model of adolescent persuasion styles emerged from the discovery that "thinking ahead" had three stages that determined the teens' style of persuasion. The three styles of attempting to influence parents agreement to a teen proposal--competing with parents, convincing parents, or being cooperative partners with parents--were ordered according to the object and range of teen anticipation. Thinking primarily about oneself indicated a competitive style. Thinking about oneself and what was needed to be convincing indicated a style of "managing" parents. Thinking about oneself and about what was needed to persuade parents as well as parents' perceptions and needs indicated a style of being cooperative partners with parents.

The three main levels of the persuasion styles model represent three levels of orientation. The orientation is essentially the range of what teens consider when they approach a problem of persuading and influencing change in limits. It is not known if teens progress through

Table 3

Adolescent Styles of Influencing Parents and Types of Adolescent Independence

| ORIENTATION | | STYLE | | INDEPENDENCE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anticipation | | Persuasion Style | | Independence Type* |
| Self-needs priority | → | **Competitive** | → | *Competitive - Aggressive Independence |
| (Self-needs priority)<br>Withdrawn | → | No Persuasion)<br>(-) Deceptive | → | * Separating- Independence |
| Situational needs plus self-needs | → | **Manipulative**<br>('managing') | → | N/A |
| Others' needs plus situational needs plus self-needs | → | **Cooperative**<br>('being partners') | → | * Cooperative - Negotiated Independence |
| | | **Assertive**<br>No Persuasion - (Opting out)<br>(+) Acceptable and within established family norms | → | * Assumed-Asserted Independence |

all levels represented by the model although there are indications that the model represents a logical progression of teens' conception of the needs that must be met to solve the problem. Persuasion ability is considered to be improved by anticipating needs of others as well as anticipating the conditions that must be met to facilitate a solution.

At each progressive level of the model teens are more involved in arranging a mutually satisfactory solution and less oriented to self-centered achievement of permission. There are some general as well as some very specific descriptions by teens outlining changes that prompt a transition from one level to another. As it is, there are three distinct levels of persuasion and descriptions adolescents about how they function in at least one level. The transition from 'competing' to '"managing" parents' seems to come as a result of teens being unsuccessful with a nagging strategy and therefore having to find another approach. When teens consider how to persuade parents if nagging and pestering don't work after the initial asking for permission, they have to give more thought and planning to the problem. The implication of this is that parents may indeed prompt more complex thinking and adaptive development when they say "no" to their children.

## Developmental and Family Aspects of Persuasion Styles

Piaget's model of disequilibrium leading to re-equilibration, as a reorganization to cope with an imbalance, seems to have been demonstrated by these teens as they get provoked into reconsidering a problem in a different way (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958; Piaget, 1985). Parents are difficult to persuade and teens have to deal with parental refusals. As they deal with the requirements of the problem, they learn to anticipate what is needed and plan how to get what they want. The teens who stomped away to their rooms or gave up on arguing as a means of changing the decision of a parent were clearly perturbed at not having enough influence. Following Piaget's model of disequilibrium, parents are facilitating development by refusing permission. There is more to it than just that though. Powers et al (1983) identified three factors of family interaction and a fourth enabling element of encouragement as facilitative of development and effective problem-solving. One of their elements is competitive challenging through critiquing another's position.

Teens in this study were challenged to solve the problem of gaining influence. Some teens met the challenge and developed more involved ways of influencing a solution. The levels of the developmental persuasion styles model show a clear accumulation of skills through a broadening perspective on the needs of a solution. If teens were not challenged with parents' refusals and reluctance to agree, it is unlikely they would change and progress in interactional skill. I believe that the criteria for well-functioning family functioning described by Powers et al (1983) was met by those teens functioning at the cooperative 'being partners with parents' level of the model. There was a focussing on differences as the teen considered parents' needs and there was attention to similarities as they attended to the needs to soothe parents' concerns. The competitive style of persuasion focussed on differences without the counterbalance of recognizing similarities. These teens appear to be feeling more separate and their style was more antagonistic.

Sometimes a transition from one level to another, from one style to another, is apparently quite easy. One teen described how she changed her style of approaching parents for permission simply by discovering the power of the question "why." When she asked why, she got access to the rationale for their decision and, as far as she was concerned, she was better able to anticipate and to deal with the obstacles to a solution. She went from nagging to negotiating in one quick step. Being willing to consider parents' rationale for a decision, asking the question "why," and considering the encounter from the other person's point of view are characteristics of 'being partners with parents.' This orientation to consider another's perspective, with awareness of their needs and concerns, is contrary to the generally egocentric style usually attributed to adolescents at this age and stage of development.

According to Elkind (1979) it is teens' ability to manage formal operations thinking that allows them to be aware of others' thinking, yet it is this awareness of others that also triggers self-conscious egocentrism. Egocentrism increases whenever a child or teen achieves some development where they have to cope with new abilities (Piaget, 1985). One consequence of adolescent egocentrism is that the teen is able to anticipate the reactions of other people to himself or herself. Teens at this stage have a strong imaginary audience against whom they gauge their performance. Gradually teens are more able to differentiate between their own concerns and the interests and concerns of others (Elkind, 1967). Teens functioning at the 'competing with parents' level and somewhat those functioning at the 'managing parents' level demonstrated behavior that suggested more egocentrism than did those at the 'being partners' level.

Elkind (1967) indicates that egocentrism is overcome through both cognitive and affective processes. Cognitively, teens become more able to differentiate their own thoughts from those of others. At an affective level, teens gradually are able to integrate their feelings with those of others. Allocentrism in social and personal relationships is becoming other-centered without becoming conforming. An allocentric teen is able to communicate better and appreciate others more.

Adams and Jones (1982) acknowledged Elkind's (1967) belief that egocentrism diminishes through opportunities to take the perspective of others in social settings such as in families. Adams and Jones found in their own research that parental support helped to diminish feelings typical of egocentrism. From the perspective of the adolescent, the problem of achieving influence with parents forces teens to take on parent' perspectives in order to find a solution. They must search for a way to influence parents more effectively than they presently are able to. Taking on the perspective of the other person (role-taking), (a) provides information leading to a solution, and (b) reduces egocentrism. This process provides more opportunity for mutuality, leading to a shift in more cooperative relating.

Adams and Jones propose that the parent-teen interaction and parental support for teens serves to moderate egocentrism and assist more cooperation. Riley, Adams and Nielsen (1984) had a somewhat tentative finding that the onset of formal operations reasoning, contrary to Elkind's premise, was associated with a reduction in self-conscious feelings. They suggest that family relations is the social base that enables teens to take the perspectives of others, which serves to reduce egocentrism in adolescents. Anolik (1981) suggested that lack of parental support and lack of agreement with parents may contribute to increased egocentrism. Protinsky and Wilkerson (1986) also found indications that family variables likely accounted for moderation in teen self-centeredness but indicated the need for more research. Adams and Gullotta (1983) found that the adolescent peer group likely prompted teens to feel more self-conscious and be more egocentric because of the desire to conform and fit into the peer group. Fitting in and parental support are found to ease teen egocentrism. Lack of support and critical relations prompt an increase in self-centered feelings and behavior.

With families being a prime source of social interaction and opportunities to take the perspective of others, problem-solving/ persuasion interaction seems to have considerable potential in directing adolescent development. It is my conjecture that, based on the teens' descriptions and the approaches to parents, teens have a major influential role in affecting the climate of acceptance in the family. The manner in which a teen presents his or her proposal to parents, and the manner of response to parents' reactions, affects the relationship and influences teen development. Persuasion episodes are a family challenge and adolescents have a determining role to play in the quality of that adjustment interaction.

As development progresses the child/teen becomes able to manage more complex forms of reaction. In Piagetian theory there are three forms of reaction: alpha, where contrary information is ignored and the individual's view is primary; beta, where the conception of the problem or structure is altered by adding in more information or considering other ways of conceiving of the problem; and gamma, where a person is able to anticipate reactions and consequences prior to acting, thereby moderating his or her actions and requests.

This progression of cognitive development is mirrored by the three stages of 'thinking ahead' and the three levels of persuasion. Both models, Piaget's levels of reaction and the persuasion styles model, involve a progression from being self-centered to greater degrees of anticipation and foresight. I believe that the congruence between these two models, along with the descriptions of the participants, permits the claim that the adolescent persuasion styles model is a progressive and developmental model. Teens begin at the 'competing with parents' mode and are able to move toward the '"managing" parents mode' and 'being partners with parents' mode in their style of persuasion and negotiation.

Some teens are able to foresee the effects of their behavior and requests on others and adjust their style of approach accordingly. Piaget (1985) equated the use of gamma-type reactions with problem-solving ability. "Gamma-type reactions consist of anticipating possible variations in problem situations. Because they are predictable or deducible, variations lose their character as perturbations and become instead, potential transformations" (p. 58). Gamma-type reactions are enabled by formal operations thinking that adolescents generally can achieve around age twelve. If we equate formal operations reasoning and gamma-type reactions with the 'being partners with parents' level of the persuasion styles model, then those teens at other levels of the model are not as fully engaged in formal operations level thinking in their problem-solving with parents. The question remains, if they are potentially able to operate at this level why don't they do it?

Greene (1986) found a lack of relationship between formal operations reasoning and a measure of adolescents' future-time perspective. In Greene's study the patterns of reasoning ability and relative lack of future orientation suggested the finding that adolescents construct their perspective of the future as a result of social and educational factors rather than exclusively on level of reasoning. Other research into adolescents and their level of reasoning found that the majority of teenagers have not achieved the formal operations level (Dulit, 1972; Elkind, 1981). In Dulit's study three groups of adolescents--ages 14, 16-17, and gifted 16-17 years--as well as a group of average adults were evaluated to assess the level of reasoning. Ten percent of the average teens, 60 percent of the gifted group and 35 percent of the adults functioned at a formal operations level. Elkind suggested that formal operations reasoning was not necessary for most adult roles and that the ability to think in the abstract had to be practised in order to be retained. The indications are quite clear that formal operations reasoning, at least as measured and reported in the research literature, is not a consistent element of adolescent thinking. Those that do have it, use it; those that don't use it, don't 'need' it and don't have it.

A variation in adolescents' usual level of reasoning may account for the variation in their level of persuasion or style of negotiation. Teens in this study demonstrated a range of ability to anticipate others' needs and consider consequences and reactions. These teens showed less self-centered behavior as they tried to accommodate the needs of the situation and the needs of parents. This lack of egocentrism is associated with taking on the perspective of the other person. This finding is congruent with Elkind's thesis that the teen's development through the persuasion/ negotiation levels indicates that a decline in self-centeredness is influenced by the challenges and demands of adaptation in family-teen problem-solving. Problem issues provided a challenge to consider others' views and this challenge led teens to consider others. The social interaction factor as moderator of egocentrism was supported by the findings of this study.

### Strategies of Negotiation

In this section I will compare the adolescent persuasion styles model and a previously established model of negotiation strategies. Both models concern interpersonal transactions and styles of influencing others. The Negotiation Strategies Model (Selman & Demorest, 1984) is based on long-term observations of children's interactions (See Appendix 1). The adolescent persuasion styles model is grounded in the data from teens' descriptions of problem-solving/persuasion and was developed without prior awareness of the Negotiation Strategies Model. The similarities between the two models is notable in that as models of an interaction they both have progressive levels and a variable of self-other orientation that is the determinant of differences between levels. The models describe associated interactions, either negotiations between children or problem-solving and persuasion/negotiation by teens. The negotiation model arose out of a quantitative analysis of coded ratings and observations of children (Selman & Demorest, 1984).

An earlier and cursory look at the teens' interview data revealed two basic types of approach used by teens in their attempts to influence change. Teens seemed to be either 'naggers' or 'negotiators.' With further sorting of data and sorting of memos about the conceptual connections between categories, the persuasion styles model emerged as the process of influencing and persuading change with parents. The 'naggers' type became the persuasion style of 'competing with parents'. 'Negotiators' were of two further types and became the persuasion styles of '"managing" parents' and 'being partners with parents'. The classification of types depended on what elements were considered by teens and what factors were considered as persuasive elements as they approached parents.

The model of negotiation strategies developed by Selman and Demorest (1984) has been developed as a result of observations of both normal and socially troubled children in both formal and informal naturalistic settings (Selman, Schorin, Stone & Phelps, 1983). Their developmental model of interpersonal negotiation strategies is composed of four levels of strategy with the option of self-transforming or other-transforming orientation at each level. The analysis by Selman and Demorest is "concerned with how people coordinate in conduct the understanding of other's thoughts, feelings, and motives in conjunction with their own in attempting to balance inner and interpersonal disequilibrium" (1984, p. 290). The fit of an individual's perspective with his or her understanding of the other's perspective leads to choice of reactions. Reactions are ultimately directed at achieving a balance in the relationship.

The negotiation model's three developmental components are (a) self-other interpretation, (b) primary purpose, and (c) affective control. A fourth level of the model is a strategy component of action orientation. The two directions of action orientations are self-transforming and other-transforming. The first three components determine the developmental level of the strategy, the fourth component determines the orientation of the strategy.

Selman and Demorest (1984) believe that any interaction strategy represents an attempt to exercise control over a situation. Even withdrawal or compliance have elements of control. They suggest that "control is at the heart of all negotiation strategies" and the way control is asserted and the nature of control varies as a function of developmental level (Selman & Demorest, 1984, p.303). Social competence according to this model involves development in two directions. One direction is the development of more sophisticated means of influence, from force to control to influence to collaboration. The other direction of development is in becoming more able to consider others' needs and viewpoints along with one's own needs and viewpoints (Selman, 1980). This is a development toward an integration of self and other rather than the competition of self versus other.

The adolescent persuasion styles model is similar to the Negotiation Strategies Model in that they both represent a progression from being self-centered (competing) to appreciating others (partners), from dealing with concrete goals (permissions) to relational goals (agreements), from being impulsive (nagging) to being cooperative (rational negotiation), and overall they both reflect a developmental progression from an orientation to oneself to an integration of self and other as the focus of negotiation. The Selman-Demorest Negotiation Model varies from the teen persuasion model in its differentiation of self-actions versus other-actions at each level of the model. In the Negotiation Model a person is action-oriented either toward the other person or toward oneself except in the later stages of integration. This is not a feature of the adolescent persuasion styles model which describes interaction at all levels always directed toward influencing the other. The models become similar again at the top levels of each model which represent an integration of a person's concern for both sides of the problem. The persuasion styles model reflects adolescents' negotiation/ persuasion behavior as affected by degrees of or a ratio of self-needs and others' needs. The feature of the teen persuasion styles model that determines the level of functioning in persuasion and negotiation is the degree of orientation that ignores or includes others' perspectives. The ratio of self/others' needs varies progressively at each level, moving from primarily self-needs oriented to an integration of others' needs with those of the individual teen.

The similarity between the two models provides some validation of the adolescent persuasion styles model. Each model was developed in different ways, one is based on quantitative research, the other is based on qualitative research. Each used different subjects/ participants yet dealt with essentially similar interactional processes. Both dealt with interpersonal adaptation and variety in the means of influence in social settings. Both identified a progression of competency moderated by an increasing ability to consider the needs of the other person and the needs of the situation.

The Negotiation Model of Selman and Demorest does not consider the impact of situational elements as parts of the persuasion/problem-solving equation. That model deals only with actions toward oneself or toward the other or an integrated approach at the final stages of development. A combined model would have a wider use. An integration of the two models, incorporating the anticipation dimension and allowing for the person's consideration of the needs of the situation, may provide a useful tool in assessing and teaching negotiation/interaction strategies and skills.

Negotiation is considered by many to be an art of influence and persuasion (Lewis, 1981) where developing relationships, knowing the games involved in negotiation, and knowing the needs of others are important elements. Nierenberg (1968) considers negotiation to be a process with considered psychological strategies as part of the repertoire of good negotiators. He considers flexibility and advanced planning to be crucial elements of success. Bettinghaus (1980) identified the persuasive elements of negotiation as containing the stages of defining common needs and goals, and constructing agreements on the methods and action steps necessary for agreement.

Andree (1971) believes that conflict as part of negotiation is a process that can be managed. He sees conflict as a mid-point on the way toward consensus. When more than two people are involved in negotiating Andree observed that coalitions form and the process becomes much more difficult because the negotiator has to consider so many more variables. He identified good negotiators as those who know their role expectations, are aware of others' needs, and consider the coping styles of others when negotiations reach an impasse. Andree and other negotiators typically see negotiation as a game of subtle manipulation that is enhanced by awareness and anticipation. Walton and McKersie (1965) described negotiation as a process of understanding the needs of others and then trying together to solve the problem. They observed three phases to negotiation, (a) taking a stand, (b) looking for concessions, and (c) dealing with resistance points. The last phase is assisted by the development of liaisons between bargainers with close communication links facilitating settlement. Walton and McKersie also subdivided the planning stage of negotiations into two sections of strategic planning and tactical planning. Strategic planning deals with long range goals and values, while tactical planning deals with the maneuvers and techniques that lead toward the achievement of those long term goals.

Karrass (1970) had negotiators identify and rank the traits of good negotiators. Planning skill, problem-solving, goal-striving, and initiative were the top ranked qualities. The communication qualities that facilitated successful negotiation were identified and ranked as including verbal clarity, listening skill, coordinating skill, warm rapport, debating ability, and role-playing. Effective negotiation relies on anticipation, planning, and staying focused on the primary goal (Ilich, 1973). Ilich emphasizes the importance of awareness of others' and involvement with the person. This is comparable to developing a sense of commonality or mutuality and then using it as persuasive lever. Ilich also recognizes the value of dealing with the person who has the final negotiating authority. The communication process should contain language that is simple, repeated for understanding, and contain specific examples to assist others to foresee the effects of the proposal.

Strauss (1978) believes that all social structures are negotiated. This is as true for organizations seeking to "get things accomplished" as it is for individuals involved in "identity negotiations" (p.4). Within Strauss's Negotiated Order theory are the observations that all social order is negotiated order, negotiations are patterned according to the people and structures involved, negotiated order has to be reworked and renewed, and that negotiated order is the sum total of the organizations' rules and policies plus the contracts and working arrangements affecting people within the organization.

Strauss identified the reconstitution of social or organizational order in terms of a complex relationship between two levels of negotiation; the daily negotiation process, and a periodic appraisal process that served to set the framework for incidental negotiation and change. Essentially the Negotiated Order theory is "a process oriented perspective that stresses the continuous emergence of organizational arrangements out of the on-going interactions of participants" (p.247).

The teens in this study, especially at the cooperative-negotiating level of persuasion demonstrated many of the qualities of good corporate negotiators. They attended to others' needs and planned their strategies for persuasion. If one approach did not succeed they often had prepared rebuttal statements, prepared answers to expected questions from parents, and prepared compromise proposals held in reserve.

Teens who were more competitive in their persuasion style may have demonstrated some of what Ilich (1973) termed 'offensive negotiation' as they used persistence and pressure tactics to persuade. These teens did not, however, have the range and flexibility of approaches effective negotiators found to be necessary. The apparent separation as a result of disagreements with parents over conflictual issues does not appear to help them to become more aware of others' needs except perhaps in retrospect as they consider their strategy for next time.

Strauss's (1978) Negotiated Order theory identified two conceptual levels of negotiated order. A recursive relationship exists between daily incidental negotiations and periodic appraisals of limits and directions. A recursive relationship exists between teens persuading or negotiating specific change of routines and the overall redefinition of on-going norms, independence status, or expectations affecting the teen. Not only are teens in this study negotiating change in relatively simple activities but they are also negotiating some modification of their overall status as a relatively autonomous and self-directing individual. Their overall status is affected by and affects negotiations on daily incidental issues.

### Role-taking, Definition of the Situation

As previously discussed in the methods chapter, Symbolic Interactionism is a framework for understanding a person's interpretation of why they do what they do. Individuals react to other people and to situations based on their own understanding of the interaction (Manis & Meltzer, 1978). An abstract personal frame of reference guides an individual's actions and that, in turn, is modified by each interaction. Russell (1984) has identified four central concepts of symbolic interactionism that assist in analyzing social interaction: (a) taking the role of the other (role-taking), (b) role-making, (c) definition of the situation, and (d) self-conception. Cooper, Grotevant & Condon (1983) have also identified role-taking as being one of two key tasks, along with identity formation, that contributes to adolescent development. The skills involved in identity formation and role-taking require teens be aware of their own viewpoint as well as the viewpoint of others, and that those views be both integrated with each other and differentiated from each other.

Role-taking is a skill that can be developed through the use of social skills training experiences. Practice taking the role of others and having opportunities to learn about others' perspectives enhance the ability. Improved ability and use of role-taking has been found to moderate adolescents' behavior toward others and reduce the occurrence of delinquent acts (Chandler, 1973; Chandler, Greenspan & Berinboim, 1974). The balancing of perspectives assists adolescents in relating with others as they coordinate self-views with others' viewpoints and therefore have more information to use in their planning and decision-making.

The anticipation of parents' needs as demonstrated by the teens in this study was most clear at the '"managing" parents' level and the 'being partners with parents' levels of the persuasion style. They first anticipated parents' reactions and provided them with detailed descriptions of who was going to be at the party, what time they would be home, where they were going to be, and other information parents apparently wanted prior to agreeing to the teen's requests. Another level of anticipation, above thinking about the information parents needed, was thinking about how parents felt in reaction to teens' requests. The cooperative 'being partners with parents' level of persuasion style reflected the ability to take on the role of parent and evaluate their likely response to a request. Some teens commented about *"role-playing"* and *"looking at it from their point of view."*

Advanced role-taking by adolescents has been observed in other studies (Clark & Delia, 1976) and is demonstrated by teens when they anticipate parents' counterarguments to requests.

As described by the persuasion styles model, teens progress in their persuasion style and enhance their ability to influence parents by becoming more able to take on the role of the other person. This anticipation of reactions from the other person's point of view enables adolescents to plan their strategy and act in such a way as to influence the outcome. The more information they acquire prior to acting, the more control or influence they have in persuasion. This study of persuasion styles has highlighted the importance of the role-taking dimension of adolescents' attempts to persuade and negotiate with parents. Further research is required to discover the family interaction conditions other than parental challenge that encourage the development of role-taking ability and use.

Other than role-taking, the aspect of the Symbolic Interactionist framework that applies to the persuasion/ negotiation of teens and parents is their "definition of the situation." Generally the concept of definition of the situation includes expectations about activities, expectations about roles made by others, beliefs about others' aims and goals, and perceptions about one's own role (Russell, 1984). Hewitt (1988) suggests that situations are defined and negotiated by participants in the situation and the operating definition is demonstrated by the interaction rather than by any overt verbalized agreement. The definition of the situation concerning teen-parent problem-solving is a determining environment that includes past experiences with problems and present expectations of solutions. A problem encountered in problem-solving is that teen and parent likely come to the situation with different definitions.

Problem-solving/persuasion facility depends on the negotiation of a common definition of a situation and that depends on communication (Strauss, 1978). The necessary communication includes sending and receiving cues, sharing ideas, and attending to information. Problem-solving/persuasion can be conceived as a teen and parent working out a fit between two separate definitions of the situation. Teens attempt to convince parents that the teen's definition of what is going to happen at a dance or party is acceptable. Teens have to provide parents with sufficient information so that parents can be comfortable with granting permission.

In this study the family process of developing a common definition of the needs seemed to be part of the problem-solving situation. This negotiating of a common ground can be a precursor to developing other expressions of mutuality. The degree to which teens can role-take affects their ability to provide information to parents and therefore influence a resolution. 'Competing with parents' teens had little or no awareness of parents' definition of the situation when the teen approached for permission. Manipulative '"managing" parents' teens knew that parents needed enough information and promises of proper conduct to feel comfortable with the teen's proposal. Of the three levels of the model, cooperative 'being partners with parents' teens seemed to have the most clear view of parents' definition of the situation. Teens at this level were advanced role-takers as evidenced by their level of anticipation, advance preparation of rebuttal arguments, and cognitive role-playing of their parent's likely response.

By having more information based on their role-taking abilities, teens became more socially skillful in their negotiation and their ability to share a common definition of the situation with their parents. Anticipating as a significant aspect of role-taking is influential in teen's negotiation abilities and ability to construct with parents a common definition of the situation. Having achieved a more common definition of the problem according to each party's requirements, solutions are easier to manage.

### Feed-Forward - Teens as Agent of Change

Feedback is a common feature of cybernetic systems theory. It is a chain of events or a flow of information that has an effect on a system, family, relationship or person, at any level. The feedback is either positive or negative depending on whether it results in a change or in a maintenance of a steady state of homeostasis (Watzlawick, Beavin & Jackson, 1967). Peggy Penn (1985) has, somewhat ironically, coined the term "feed-forward" to describe a therapeutic technique of asking questions. As a therapeutic questioning style (Cecchin, 1987; Tomm, 1988), feed-forward leads clients to consider how things might be in the future (Palazzoli-Selvini, Boscolo, Cecchin & Prata, 1980). These questions presented in a positive framework "give the family a sense of their own potential to imagine new solutions" (Penn, 1985, p.300). The communication of ideas about the future brings information back to the present operation of the family and therefore provides novel solutions to problems encountered by the family. Feed-forward questioning has the potential to change present patterns and routines.

The teens in this study were all involved in seeking some changes in the limits, roles, and rules governing them in the family. By asking for permission they are leading parents to consider an event in the near future. Teens are describing an event and putting it in a positive framework. By making a request for permission, the teens in this study prompted parents to think ahead and forecast outcomes. Parents think ahead to the proposed event, anticipate the teen's behavior, and consider possible reactions or necessary accommodations.

Managing to achieve permission enables teens to extend their limits. Permission by permission, incremental change occurs in the range of teens' independent functioning. Not only did the teens negotiate small changes in family routines, but they used the permission-seeking occasions as opportunities to achieve some adjustment in the teen-parent relationship. The teens in the study had occasions to demonstrate competence by following through on agreements with parents. They also became more competent in managing the demands of achieving agreement, becoming aware of the requirements of a situation and the needs of others', then balancing the needs of parents with those of their own.

### Soothing Fears - Negotiating Independence

Some teens seem to be quite aware of parents' fears and worries connected with granting permission to some requests. The range of responses varies with the depth of awareness. Some teens realize parents have concerns about teen responsibility and so the teen promises *"I'm responsible."* Others make comments like *"I'm a big girl now, I can handle it."* The promise of responsibility has somewhat less effect than the actual demonstration of good judgement. Teens at the 'being partners' level of functioning demonstrate an awareness of what parents need and why they need it. Teens recognized parents' fears and seemed to address them directly. By talking about specific fears that parents have about teens, such as the dangers of drinking and driving, or getting pregnant, teens demonstrate to parents that the teens have anticipated the concern and are prepared to react. Teens at the middle level of '"managing" parents' have discussions with parents about not getting into trouble or not getting hurt. These general concerns are met with vague promises. The specific reaction to specific parental fears and concerns seemed to be the teen articulating a value that most parents would find to be acceptable. Teens at the 'being partners' level would make comments like *"I don't drink"* or *"if the person who is driving has been drinking, then I will phone you for a ride."* The values of the teen seemed to correspond to those we would expect parents to have.

It is speculation on my part that teens who articulate values comparable to those of their parents and who give specific descriptions that address parents' worries will be more successful at gaining permission. By describing the values and the concerns of their parents, teens are acknowledging significant similarities between themselves and their parents. In order for the teen to negotiate more independent functioning he or she acts to accommodate to some of his or her parents' needs. The parental need is for a predictable outcome, and part of the teen's response to that need is at least giving lip service to adult values of concern for safety. The teen may have incorporated adult values into his or her own teen value system. Presumably these teens soothe parents fears in this manner and as a result parents are more likely to grant permission. In essence these teens have negotiated more independence by thinking ahead, which leads to more advanced role-taking. They have become more independent by becoming more like their parents.

This paradoxical finding of independence through mutuality is contrary to Wynne's (1984) relational system model where problem-solving precedes feelings of mutuality. It may be that the problem-solving to mutuality progression proposed by Wynne is not as linear as he suggests. Wynne indicates that his relational systems model is circular with a relationship progressing through each phase from affectional bonding to communication to problem-solving to mutuality and back to affectional bonding and so on. The teen persuasion styles model identifies that mutuality comes before effective problem-solving. It seems that feelings of commonality moderated the problem-solving style of teens. Based on this model the connection between persuasion/negotiation and mutuality in the interaction between teen and parent appears to be more reciprocal and less linear with one element preceding the other.

These teens have also demonstrated that they can attend to their connectedness with parents by recognizing common values and concerns while also arranging for a change in degree of individuation. The individuation concept (Cooper & Ayers-Lopez, 1985; Grotevant, Cooper & Condon, 1983) is observed in patterns of communication reflecting an individual's sense of individuality and sense of connectedness. Expressions of self-assertion and separateness are aspects of the individuality dimension. Expressions of mutuality and responsiveness to others' ideas (permeability) are aspects of the connectedness dimension .

In this study, teens functioning at all levels from 'competing' to 'being partners' demonstrated self-assertion and separateness. They communicated their needs and opinions about what they wanted changed, and they displayed a sense of separateness between themselves and parents. The separateness was more apparent at the 'competing' level and the self-assertion was more apparent at the 'being partners' level. 'Being partners' level teens were more able to articulate their points of view without emotional interference even when there was a difference of opinion.

The connectedness dimension was more apparent at the 'being partners' level and noticeably absent from the 'competing' level of the model. Expressions of mutuality and responsiveness to the ideas of others were demonstrated by teens functioning at the 'being partners' negotiation level. At one end of the persuasion styles model (self-centered competing) the individuality-connectedness dimensions were skewed toward first and foremost expressing individuality. At the other end of the persuasion styles model (cooperative and considering others' needs) the individuality-connectedness dimensions were much more balanced as demonstrated by the communication style of teens. If we assume that teens at the 'being partners with parents' level of the persuasion styles model are more functional problem-solvers due to their role-taking ability, then having a balanced sense of individuation is associated with this adaptive and functional behavior. At this level these teens are able to think ahead and function with more autonomy because they are able to take the role of others. They are able to take the role of others because they have a more clearly defined and balanced sense of their own individual identity.

Teens at the less functional, 'competing with parents,' level demonstrated an imbalance on the individuality-connectedness dimension. They had more individuality and less connectedness according to the range of communication they used in their persuasion/negotiation approaches to parents.

At this point of research into persuasion styles of adolescents we do not have a measure of effectiveness or a rating of satisfactory resolutions. I am making an assumption that the 'being partners' level is more functional than the '"managing" parents' level which is more functional than the 'competing with parents' level. This assumption is based on the work of Piaget (1985, 1971), Melito (1985) and Werner (1957) that supports the view that more adaptive organisms are those that are more complexly organized with a greater range of available options. The availability of options, and ability to make choices rather than having to impulsively react, are qualities of flexible and adaptive organizations. By being more aware of the needs of the persuasion/negotiation situation and more aware of the needs of parents, 'being partners' level teens can be considered to be more functional.

### Independence

As previously indicated in Table 3, four types of independence can be extrapolated from the model of adolescent persuasion styles. Essentially two types of independence are indicated by persuasion styles and two types of independence are indicated by various means of teens choosing not to persuade or negotiate. The types of independence are reflections of teens' styles of relating with parents. Few teens in this study talked much about independence but the analysis of their descriptions leads me to believe that a change of status toward being more autonomous is a priority for many teens. Erikson (1968) described adolescents' striving for a more defined identity as a relatively independent person and Strauss (1978) described negotiation as applying, at a psychological level, to the negotiation of identity. Teens' negotiation appears to be one of seeking to shift the balance of control, to gain more control over issues pertaining to autonomy. The processes of persuasion and negotiation appear to be directed toward the goal of getting parents to relinquish degrees of control to the teen. The adolescent tries out several forms of independence as he or she makes adjustments in relating and persuading change with parents.

In this study the independence types that are related to persuasion styles are (1) the competitive aggressive independence related to the self-centered competing style of persuasion, and (2) the cooperative negotiated independence type related to the style of persuasion that considered others' needs as well as those of the self and situation. The competitive aggressive type of independence is characterized by comments such as *"why can't I?"* and *"you never let me do anything."* The cooperative negotiated type of independence is characterized by comments such as *"I have handled problems like that before"* and *"I know you are worried about me at this party but I will get a ride home and be here on time."*

The independence types that are associated with adolescents' choosing not to negotiate are an assumed asserted independence that is demonstrated when the teen is enabled to make choices within their established realm of decision, and the separating withdrawn independence when the teen chooses to be deceptive and act beyond their parents' awareness and likely act beyond their limits of permission. The assumed and asserted type of independence is characterized by comments such as *"I am going to jogging Mom and I will be back by supper"* and *"I decided what school to go to because I thought I should, I am the one who is going there."* The separating and withdrawn type of independence is characterized by the absence of comments other than angry comments, by sulking, and by the slamming of doors.

The type of independence like the style of persuasion seems to be associated to specific issues and the style of relationship with each parent. Independence was not directly negotiated yet it appears to be an outcome of the redefinition of the teens' relationship with his or her parents as the teen seeks change and adaptation to emerging needs for autonomy and control. The next section summarizes the teens' descriptions of their relationships with each parent.

### Relationships With Parents

The teens in this study had a variety of forms of relationship with their parents. In some ways this was expected as clinical experience and preliminary interviewing of teens had revealed that teens tended to deal with one parent in their approaches for permission. Generally this expectation of teens dealing primarily with parent was borne out by the descriptions of teen-parent relating.

Mothers were generally considered to be the one to approach, either because *"mom is a real softy"* or*" mom is the one who is going to decide anyway so I start with her."* Sometimes fathers referred teens to their mothers for a decision and sometimes mothers made the decisions because *"dad is always gone."*

Fathers, according to the teens in this study, were generally considered to be difficult people to deal with. Some teens always went to their mom because dad always said no to a request. Some teens were afraid of their father's reactions and so they stayed away. On the other side, some teens talked about their father as the one who would stick up for them when their mother is being strict. And one teen went to his dad if he had a question about girls. Fathers were also given credit as being the one who decides on *"serious"* issues.

An incidental finding was that teens and parents are quite aware of an informal system of sorting out who is responsible for what level of problem. Five realms of decision were identified from teen's commentary: (a) teen's own choice, (b) either parent interchangeably, (c) the more supportive parent, (d) the more supportive parent but referred to the other parent for consultation, and (e) both parents together. Teens knew which parent was more supportive and accepting of the teen's requests. They also knew which problem was theirs to decide, which one had to have a parent's decision and which ones needed both parents' involvement. The question as to which person in the family handled the request depended on three choices or questions: (a) is this something that everybody knows I can handle easily? (b) how much risk is involved, or (c) is this question one that one parent or the other has special responsibility for? For these teens simple routine events did not require asking permission. The risk consideration was associated with going to parties or going out on dates, where there was some parental concern about the teen getting hurt or getting into trouble. Special responsibility questions were such things as fathers handling transportation or other "practical" matters. Mothers generally were asked relationship questions dealing with more emotional matters.

Youniss (1980) considers that young adolescents are trying out new forms of relationships with their parents. He believes that complementary and more mutual relating styles are first learned with peers then imported into the family. Youniss and Smollar (1985) suggest that mothers play an important role in adolescent development by providing an opportunity for teens to have a different relationship with each parent. The benefit of differing relationships is that teens get to experience varying degrees of individuality and connectedness with each parent. Mothers are also considered to be providing a bridge between teens and fathers. The effect is that teens have three varieties of relationship--with peers, with mother, with father--each having a different effect on the development of adolescent individuation and ranges of relationship.

Although teens in this study did not identify benefits of dealing mostly with mothers, other than suggesting they had more influence with mothers, they did seem to choose their mother to be the one to work out a problem. Some teens described their relationship with parents as being close with one and difficult with the other. So teens did deal primarily with one parent but which parent it was depended on the type of problem that was encountered. The teen could have a greater sense of individuality with one parent and a greater sense of connectedness with the other. This arrangement would allow the teen to experience the range of both dimensions of the individuation model as described by Cooper, Grotevant and Condon (1983).

The individuation model describes a needed balance between the dimensions that would be provided, first of all by these teens having one type of relationship with one parent and then the other type with the other parent. If this individuation model allows for progression toward balance of the dimensions, then as the teen develops he or she would move toward a relationship that is characterized by both individuality and connectedness. The 'being partners with parents' level of the teen persuasion styles model reflects a type of relationship with parents that has a balance of concern for others' needs and opinions, and concern for individual needs.

## Recommendations For Further Research

### Recommendation 1

Investigate the acquisition of role-taking in children and teens. Social skills training may be developed from the basis of what families do to encourage members to anticipate and role-take the perspective of others.

Research process. (a) Conduct Grounded Theory research with whole families by interviewing all members and focussing on members' descriptions of styles of persuasion and the balancing of control in the family.

(b) Conduct Grounded Theory research with older adolescents (18 years) focussing on descriptions of styles of persuasion and negotiating control.

Hypotheses: Older adolescents will more often function at the cooperating/negotiating level of persuasion. Older adolescents will more often opt out of negotiating. (This hypothesis is tied to the assumption that through continuing problem-solving teens will have opportunities to develop competent cooperative negotiating skills.)

Recommendation 2

Investigate the process of parents and teens entering a problem-solving/persuasion episode with different 'definitions of the situation' and analyze the means by which they work toward a common definition. Query the individual definitions and assess the convergence of definitions as a result of persuasion activities and experiences of role-taking.

Research process. (a) Present a written problem-situation involving a family engaged in attempting change or agreement on a contentious issue. Have each teen write a description of each parents' perspective and each parent write a description of the teen's perspective prior to the problem-solving episode. Have each family member write their prediction of the outcome of the fictitious family dealing with the issue.

Compare perspectives for similarity and awareness of others' needs and measure tendency toward common perspectives against agreement on predicted outcomes. Content analysis and description of patterns should be used to compare descriptions. A pre- and post-test of each family's evaluation of their own conflict resolution abilities should indicate if the process of attending to others' views assists their own processes.

Recommendation 3

Investigate the association between adolescent persuasion styles and the family styles of communication. Following interviews with adolescents and determining their typical and highest level of functioning on the adolescent persuasion styles model, evaluate the family communication style using the Constraining and Enabling Coding system (Hauser et al, 1984).

Hypothesis: Teens functioning at the cooperating/negotiating level will have a family communication style that is enabling.

Hypothesis: Teens functioning at the cooperative/negotiating level will have sequential communication patterns that are expressive and constructive leading to an elaboration of their perspectives.

Hypothesis: Teens functioning at the competitive/nagging level will have sequential communication patterns that are constraining, repetitive and don't elaborate on their perspectives.

Recommendation 4

Conduct a longitudinal study of one or two families with adolescents. Interview all members twice a year focussing on styles of persuasion, communication, understanding, and control. Administer FACES or Family Assessment Measure for additional family functioning data.

Hypothesis: Family styles of communication and persuasion will remain constant over time.

## Conclusion

The persuasion/negotiation experiences of teens have been discovered to include elements of planning and persuading affected by degrees of anticipation. The extent to which teens anticipate the requirements of the situation determines the manner of approach to parents. A model of adolescents' persuasion styles emerged from the analysis of teens' descriptions of problem-solving/persuasion with parents.

When 'thinking ahead' was investigated, it became clear that three stages of 'thinking ahead' or anticipation were in use. These three stages led to a model of persuasion styles that describes and clarifies a developmental progression of teens' awareness of the needs that must be addressed for successful persuasion/negotiation. The three levels of the model represent a developmental progression of influential approaches to parents from predominantly self-centered, to attending to the mechanics of the situation, to attending to the needs and concerns of parents as well as one's own needs. Comparison with an established model of children's negotiation strategies showed clear similarities between the models. This similarity indicates support for the suggestion that negotiation ability and persuasion skill by adolescents are enhanced by awareness of others' concerns and attention to others' needs. Being aware of the components of effective persuasion and negotiation enables us to develop descriptions of effective procedures and design procedures for social skills training. From the Symbolic Interactionist perspective, the work that has been done on necessary elements of social skills training is particularly useful. Two aspects of the Symbolic Interactionist framework, role-taking and definition of the situation, are basic elements of negotiation. Awareness of procedures of persuasion and having a descriptive language that facilitates explanation of detailed aspects of adolescent-parent interaction allow the adolescent negotiation skills to be described and taught.

An increased awareness of techniques of problem-solving, information about processes such as managing change in the family, and awareness of the skills of persuasion should result in procedures to assist the development of this important family skill. The development of a persuasion styles model should also stimulate additional research in the area. With role-taking emerging as a key task in persuasion and negotiation in the family, the question remains as to what is it that fosters adolescents' ability to anticipate the reactions and needs of others. As the anticipation of other's needs and likely reactions, role-taking is a skill of persuasion and negotiation that has many applications.

The work of Powers et al (1983) has provided some insight into the qualities of family functioning that foster high levels of adolescent ego development. The sharing of viewpoints, accepting differing perspectives, and non-competitive challenging of perspectives all within a family climate of support have been shown to lead to desirable levels of adolescent development. More work needs to be done in describing the family attributes and the adolescent styles of relating that lead to acquiring increased abilities in anticipation and role-taking.

Additional research by Hauser, Powers, Noam, Jacobson, Weiss and Follansbee (1984) looked at communication styles and ego development of adolescents and their parents. It was found that a connection exists between the level of adolescent ego development and adolescent sequential speech patterns. Teens at a higher level of ego development elaborated their ideas in trying to convince parents to accept a certain viewpoint. Teens at lower levels had redundant and repetitious patterns of persuasion. Of interest to my study was their finding that parents' overall affective enabling and accepting were strongly associated with higher levels of adolescent ego development. This finding is confirmed by Cole, Baldwin, Baldwin and Fisher (1982) who identified supportive affective family interactions as indicators of flexible cognitive functioning and positive school motivation.

The previously mentioned studies all indicate an association between parental style and adolescent style of discussion, persuasion, and relationship. My study identified adolescent styles of persuasion and the central process of anticipating that facilitates the persuasion/negotiation style. Thinking systemically we need not try to find a lineal cause that leads to an singular effect. This study and others have identified a range of family relating styles and the association of mutual effect. The extent to which adolescents affect their parents' affective communication style, or the extent to which parents' affective communication style affects adolescents' styles of communication and persuasion remains to be determined.

This study has identified the extent to which adolescents anticipate needs and develop strategy so that they may be more influential in their family. Teens' tactics in persuading parents to change or adapt to the emerging needs of the adolescent has not previously been explored. The degree to which adolescents at the age of fifteen engage in negotiation with considerable advance planning and use of options as choices for parents is a notable finding of this study. The extent to which teens consider and adapt to the concerns and needs of parents indicates that teens can be considerably less self-centered than they are commonly thought to be. Finally, the negotiation of increasing degrees of independence indicates that adolescents are active in trying to redefine their identity toward being more involved and in control of decisions affecting them.

## References

Ackerman, N. W. (1958). The psychodynamics of family life. New York: Basic.

Adams, G. R., & Gullotta, T. P. (1983). Adolescent life experiences. Monterey CA: Brooks/Cole.

Adams, G. R., & Jones. R. M. (1982). Adolescent egocentrism: Exploration into possible contributions of parent-child relations. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 11(1), 25-31.

Amoroso, D. M., & Ware, E. E. (1986). Adolescent's perception of aspects of the home environment and their attitudes toward parents, self, and external authority. Adolescence, 21(81), 191-204.

Anderson, S. A., & Fleming, W. M. (1986). Late adolescents' identity formation: Individuation from the family of origin. Adolescence, 21(84).

Andree, R. G. (1971). The art of negotiation: Roles, games, logic. Lexington MA: Heath.

Anolik, S. A. (1981). Imaginary audience behavior and perceptions of parents among delinquent and nondelinquent adolescents. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 10, 443-453.

Barnes, H. L., & Olson, D. H. (1985). Parent-adolescent communication and the circumplex model. Child Development, 56, 1-9.

Bateson, G. (1972). Steps to an ecology of mind. New York: Ballantine.

Bateson, G. (1979). Mind and nature: A necessary unity. New York: Dutton.

Beer,S. (1980). In the preface to Autopoiesis and cognition: The realization of the living. H.R. Maturana & F. J. Varela, Dordrect, Holland: Reidel.

Beer, S. (1981). Brain of the firm: The managerial cybernetics of organization, (2nd ed.), New York: J. Wiley.

Bell, D. C., & Bell, L. G. (1983). Parental validation and support in the development of adolescent daughters. In H. D. Grotevant & C. R. Cooper (Eds.), Adolescent development in the family. (pp. 27-42). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bell, D. C., & Bell, L. G. (1982). Family process and child development in unlabeled (normal) families. The Australian Journal of Family Therapy, 3, 205-210.

Bettinghaus, E. P. (1980). Persuasive communication (3rd ed) Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Bibby, R.W., & Posterski, D.C. (1985). The emerging generation: An inside look at Canada's teenagers. Toronto: Irwin.

Blos, P. (1979). The second individuation process of adolescence. In P. Blos (Ed.). The adolescent passage: Developmental issues. New York: International University Press.

Blumer, H. (1969). The methodological position of symbolic interactionism in Symbolic Interactionism. H. Blumer (Ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bogdan, J. L. (1984). Family organization as an ecology of ideas: An alternative to the reification of family systems. Family Process, 23, 375-388.

Bowen, M. (1972). Toward the differentiation of a self in one's own family. In J. Framo, (Ed.), Family interaction San Francisco: Springer.

Bowen, M. (1978). Theory in the practice of psychotherapy. In M. Bowen (Ed.), Family therapy in clinical practice. New York: Aronson.

Brighton-Cleghorn, J. (1987). The self and family system. Family Process. 26, 185-201.

Brink, P.J. (1989). Issues in reliability and validity. In J. M. Morse (Ed.), Qualitative nursing research: A contemporary dialogue. Rockville MA: Aspen.

Brink, P.J., & Wood, M. J. (1978). Basic steps in planning nursing research: From planning to proposal (2nd ed.). North Scituate, MA: Duxbury.

Campbell, E., Adams, G. R., & Dobson, W. R. (1984). Familial correlates of identity formation in late adolescence: A study of the predictive utility of connectedness and individuality in family relations. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 13,(6), 509-525.

Carter, E.A., & McGoldrick, M. (1980). The family life cycle: A framework for family therapy New York: Gardiner Press.

Carter, E. A. & McGoldrick, M. (1982). The family life cycle. In F. Walsh (Ed.), Normal family processes. New York: Guilford.

Cecchin, G. (1987). Hypothesizing, circularity, and neutrality revisited: An invitation to curiosity. Family Process, 26, 405-413.

Chandler, M. (1973). Egocentrism and antisocial behavior: The assessment and training of social perspective-taking skills. Developmental Psychology, 9(3), 326-332.

Chandler, M., Greenspan, S. & Berinboim, C. I. (1974). Assessment and training of role-taking and referential communication skills in institutionalized emotionally disturbed children. Developmental Psychology, 10(4), 546-553.

Chenitz, C. W., & Swanson, J. M. (1986). From practice to grounded theory: Qualitative research in nursing. Menlo Park, CA: Addison-Wesley.

Clark, R. A., & Delia, J. G. (1976). The development of functional persuasive skills in childhood and adolescence. Child Development. 47, 1008-1014.

Cole, R. E., Baldwin, A. L., Baldwin, C. P., & Fisher, L. (1982). Family interaction in free play and children's social competence. In A. L. Baldwin, R. E. Cole, & C. P. Baldwin (Eds.), Parental pathology, family interaction, and the competence of the child in school. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development. 47(5, Serial No. 197).

Coleman, J. C. (1974). Relationships in adolescence. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Conger, J. J., & Petersen, A. C. (1984). Adolescence and youth: Psychological development in a changing world. New York: Harper & Row.

Cooper, C.R., & Ayers-Lopez, S. (1985). Family and peer systems in early adolescence: New models of the role of relationships in development. Journal of Early Adolescence, 5(1), 9-21.

Cooper, C. R., Grotevant, H. D., & Condon, S. M. (1983). Individuality and connectedness in the family as a context for adolescent identity formation and role-taking skill. In H. D. Grotevant & C. R. Cooper (Eds.), New directions for child development: Adolescent development in the family. (pp. 43-60). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Cooper, C. R., & Grotevant, H. D. (1985). Patterns of interaction in family relationships and the development of identity exploration in adolescence. Child Development, 56, 415-428.

Cowan, P.A. (1978). Piaget with feeling: Cognitive, social and emotional dimensions. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Damon, W. (1983). Social and personality development: Infancy through adolescence. New York: Norton.

Dawkins, R. (1976). The selfish gene. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dawkins, R. (1982). The extended phenotype. Oxford: Freeman and Co.

Deatrick, J. A., & Faux, S. A. (1989). Conducting qualitative studies with children and adolescents. In J. M. Morse (Ed.), Qualitative nursing research: A contemporary dialogue. Rockville MA: Aspen.

Dell, P.F. (1985). Understanding Bateson and Maturana: Toward a biological foundation for the social sciences. Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 11(1), 1-20.

Dulit, E. (1972). Adolescent thinking à la Piaget: The formal stage. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 4, 281-301.

Eisenberg, A. R., & Garvey, C. (1981). Children's use of verbal strategies in resolving conflicts. Discourse Processes, 4, 149-170.

Elkind, D. (1967). Egocentrism in adolescence. Child Development, 38, 1025-1034.

Elkind, D. (1979). Recent research on cognitive development in adolescence. In S. E. Dragastin & G. H. Elder, Jr., (Eds.), Adolescence in the life cycle. New York: Halsted.

Elkind, D. (1981). Children and adolescents: Interpretive essays on Jean Piaget (3rd. ed). New York: Oxford University Press.

Elkind, D., & Bowen, R. (1979). Imaginary audience behavior in children and adolescents. Developmental Psychology, 15, 38-44.

Erikson, E. (1968). Identity: Youth and crisis. New York: Norton.

Erikson, E. (1980). Identity and the life cycle (2nd ed.). New York: Norton.

Fagerhaugh, S. Y. (1986). Analyzing data for basic social processes. In C. W., Chenitz & J. M., Swanson (Eds.). From practice to grounded theory: Qualitative research in nursing. Menlo Park, CA: Addison-Wesley.

Field, P. A., & Morse, J. M. (1985). Nursing Research: The application of qualitative approaches. Rockville, MA: Aspen.

Fogatch, M. S. (1989). Patterns and outcome in family problem solving: The disrupting effect of negative emotion. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51, 115-124.

Flavel, J. H. (1962). The developmental psychology of Jean Piaget. Toronto: Van Nostrand.

French, A. P. (1977). Disturbed children and their families: Innovations in evaluation and treatment. New York: Human Sciences Press.

Ginsburg, H., & Oppen, S. (1979). Piaget's theory of intellectual development. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Glaser, B. (1978) Theoretical sensitivity: Theoretical advances in the methodology of grounded research. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A.L. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.

Greenberg, M. T., Siegel, J. M., & Leitch, C. J. (1983). The nature and importance of attachment relationships to parents and peers during adolescence. Journal of Adolescence, 12, 373-386.

Greene, A. L. (1986). Future-time perspective in adolescence: The present of things future revisited. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 15, 99-113.

Grotevant, H. D., & Cooper, C. R. (1985). Patterns of interaction in family relationships and the development of identity exploration in adolescence. Child Development, 56, 415-428.

Grotevant, H. D., Cooper, C. R., & Condon, S. M. (1983). Individuality and connectedness in the family as a context for adolescent identity formation and role-taking skill. In H. D. Grotevant & C. R. Cooper (Eds.), Adolescent Development in the Family. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Haley, J. (1976). Problem-solving therapy. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hansen, C. (1981). Living in with normal families. Family Process, 20, 53-75.

Hauser, S. T., Powers, S. I., Noam, G. G., Jacobson, A. M., Weiss, B. & Follansbee, D. J. (1984). Familial contexts of adolescent ego development. Child Development, 55, 195-213.

Hewitt, J. P. (1988). Self and society: A Symbolic Interactionist's social psychology. (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Huston, T. L., & Robbins, E. (1982). Conceptual and methodological issues in studying close relationships. Journal of Marriage and the Family 44, 901-925.

Humphrey, L. L., & Benjamin, L. S. (1986). Using structural analysis of social behavior to assess critical but elusive family processes. American Psychologist, 41(9), 979-989.

Hutchinson, S. (1986). Grounded theory: The method. In P. L. Munhall & C. J. Oiler (Eds.), Nursing research: A qualitative perspective. (pp. 111-130). Norwalk, CT: Appelton-Century-Crofts.

Ilich, J. (1973). The art and skill of successful negotiation. Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Inhelder, B., & Piaget, J. (1958). The growth of logical thinking from childhood to adolescence. New York: Basic Books.

Karrass, C. L. (1970). The negotiating game. Cleveland: World.

Keeney, B. (1983). The aesthetics of change. New York: Basic.

Kohut, H. (1959). Introspection, empathy, and psychoanalysis: An examination of the relationship between mode of observation and theory. Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 7, 459-483.

Langer, J. (1970). Werner's comparative organismic theory. In P. H. Mussen (Ed.), Carmichael's manual of child psychology, 1, (3rd ed.). New York: J. Wiley.

Lerner, R. M. (1985). Adolescent maturational changes and psychosocial development: A dynamic interactional perspective. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 14, 355-372.

Lester, M., & Hadden, S.C. (1980). Ethnomethodology and grounded theory methodology: An integration of perspective and method. Urban Life, 9(1).

Lewis, D. V. (1981). Power negotiating: Tactics and techniques. Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall

Lewis, J.M. (1986). Family structure and stress. Family Process, 25, 235-247.

Lewis, J. M., Beavers, W. R., Gossett, J. T., & Phillips, V. A. (1976). No single thread: Psychological health in family systems. New York: Bruner/Mazel.

Lovelock, J. E. (1981). Gaia: A new look at life on Earth. Family Process, 20, 409-418.

Manis, J. G. & Meltzer, B. N. (1978). Symbolic Interaction: A reader in social psychology. (3rd. ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Maturana, H. R., & Varela, R.J. (1980). Autopoiesis and cognition: The realization of the living, Dordrecht, Holland, Reidel,

Melito, R. (1985). Adaptation in family systems. Family Process, 24, 89-100.

Metcoff, J., & Whitaker, C. A. (1982). Family microevents: Communication patterns for problem solving. In F. Walsh (Ed.), Normal family processes. New York: Guilford.

Mishler, E. G. (1979). Meaning in context: Is there any other kind? Harvard Educational Review, 49(1), 1-19.

Minuchin, S. (1974). Families & family therapy. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Montemayor, R. (1982). The relationship between parent-adolescent conflict and the amount of time adolescents spend alone with parents and peers. Child Development, 53, 1512-1519.

Montemayor, R. (1986). Family variation in parent-adolescent storm and stress. Journal of Adolescent Research 1(1), 15-31.

Montemayor, R., and Hanson, E. (1985). A naturalistic view of conflict between adolescents and their parents and siblings. Journal of Early Adolescence, 5(1), 23-30.

Morse, J. M. (1986) Quantitative and qualitative research: Issues in sampling. In P. Chinn (Ed.), Nursing research methodology. pp.181-193. Baltimore: Aspen.

Morse, J. M. (1989). Strategies for sampling. In J. M. Morse (Ed.), Qualitative nursing research: A contemporary dialogue. Rockville, MA: Aspen.

Nezu, A., & D'Zurilla, T. J. (1981). Effects of problem definition and formulation on the generation of alternatives in the social problem-solving process. Cognitive Therapy and Research, 5, 265-271.

Nierenberg, G. I. (1968). The art of negotiating: Psychological strategies for gaining advantageous bargains. New York: Hawthorn

Offer, D. (1969). The psychological world of the teenager: A study of normal adolescent boys. New York: Basic Books.

Offer, D., & Offer, J. B. (1975). From teenage to young manhood: A psychological study. New York: Basic Books.

Offer, D., & Sabshin, M. (1984). Normality and the life cycle: A critical integration. New York: Basic Books.

Oliveri, M. E., & Reiss, D. (1981). A theory-based empirical classification of family problem-solving behavior. Family Process, 20, 409-418.

Olson, D.H., Sprenkle, D.H.,& Russell, C. S. (1979). Circumplex model of marital and family systems: Cohesion and adaptability dimensions, family type, and clinical applications. Family Process, 18, 3-28.

Palazzoli-Selvini, M., Boscolo, L., Cecchin, G. & Prata, G. (1980). Hypothesizing-circularity-neutrality: Three guidelines for the conductor of the session. Family Process, 19, 3-12.

Penn, P. (1985). Feed-forward: Future questions, future maps. Family Process, 24, 299-310.

Piaget, J. (1971). Biology and knowledge. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Piaget, J. (1985) The equilibration of cognitive structures: The central problem of intellectual development. (T. Brown, & K. J. Thampy, Trans.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Powers, S.I., Hauser, S.T., Schwartz, J.M., Noam, G.G., & Jacobson, A.M. (1983). Adolescent ego development and family interaction: A structural-developmental perspective. In H.D. Grotevant & C.R. Cooper (Eds.), Adolescent development in the family: New directions for child development. (pp. 5-25). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Prigogene, I. (1978). Time, structure and fluctuations. Science, 201, 777-795.

Protinsky, H. & Wilkerson, J. (1986). Ego identity, egocentrism and formal operations. Adolescence, 21(82) 462-465.

Rausch, H. L., Barry, W. A., Hertel, R. K., & Swain, M. A. (1974). Communication, conflict and marriage, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Reiss, D. (1971). Varieties of consensual experience: 1. A theory of relating family interaction to individual thinking. Family Process, 10, 1-28.

Reiss, D. (1981). The family's construction of reality Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Reiss, D., & Oliveri, M. E. (1980). Family paradigm and family coping: A proposal for linking the family's intrinsic adaptive capacities to its responses to stress. Family Process, 29, 431-444.

Rennie, D. L., Phillips, J. R., & Quartaro, G. K. (1988). Grounded theory: A promising approach to conceptualization in psychology. Canadian Psychology, 29(2), 139-150.

Riley, T., Adams, G. R., & Nielsen, E. (1984). Adolescent egocentrism: The association among imaginary audience behavior, cognitive development, and parental support and rejection. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 13(5), 401-417.

Rock, P. (1982). Symbolic interaction. In R. B. Smith & P. K. Manning (Eds.), Handbook of social science methods, Vol. 2: Qualitative methods. Cambridge MA: Ballinger.

Ross, J. A. (1985). Program evaluation as problem solving: Implications of a metaphor. Evaluation Review. 9(6), 659-679.

Rogers, D. (1981). Adolescents and youth, (4th. ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Rubin, Z., & Sloman, J. (1984). How parents influence their children's friendships. In M. Lewis (Ed.), Beyond the dyad. New York: Plenum.

Russell, A. (1984). A social skills analysis in childhood and adolescence using Symbolic Interactionism. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 13(1), 73-92.

Sabatelli, R. M., & Mazor, A. (1985). Differentiation, individuation, and identity formation: The integration of family system and individual developmental perspectives. Adolescence, 20, 619-633.

Schwartz, H., & Jacobs, J. (1979). Qualitative sociology: A method to the madness. New York: The Free Press.

Selman, R. L. (1980). The growth of interpersonal understanding Toronto: Academic.

Selman, R. L., & Demorest, A. P. (1984). Observing troubled children's interpersonal strategies: Implications of and for a developmental model. Child Development, 55, 288-304.

Selman. R. L., Schorin, M. Z., Stone, C. R., & Phelps, E. (1983). A naturalistic study of children's social understanding. Developmental Psychology, 19(1), 82-102.

Shure, M. B., & Spivak, G. (1978). Problem-solving techniques in childrearing. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Silverberg, S. B., & Steinberg, L. (1987). Adolescent autonomy, parent-adolescent conflict, and parental well-being. Journal of Youth and Adolescence. 16(3), 293-312.

Smith, K.A., & Forehand, R. (1986). Parent-adolescent conflict: Comparison and prediction of perceptions of mothers, fathers, and daughters. Journal of Adolescence, 6(4), 353-367.

Speer, D. C. (1970). Family systems: Morphostasis and morphogenesis, or "Is homeostasis enough?" Family Process, 9(3), 259-278.

Steinberg, L. D. (1981). Transformations in family relations at puberty. Developmental Psychology, 17, 833-840.

Steinberg, L. D. (1987). Family processes at adolescence: A developmental perspective. Family Therapy, 14(2), 77-86.

Steinberg, L., & Silverberg, S. B. (1986). The vissitudes of autonomy in early adolescence. Child Development, 57, 841-851.

Stern, P. N. (1980). Grounded theory methodology: Its uses and processes. Image, 12(1), 20-23.

Stierlin, H. (1974). Separating parents and adolescents New York: Aronson.

Stierlin, H., Levi, L.D., & Savard, R.J. (1973). Centrifugal versus centripetal separation in adolescence: Two patterns and some of their implications. In S. Fienstein & P. Giovacchini (Eds.), Annals of the American society for adolescent psychiatry (Vol. 2). New York: Basic Books.

Strauss, A. (1978). Negotiations: Varieties, contexts, processes, and social order. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Strauss, A. (1987). Qualitative analysis for social scientists. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Terkelsen, K.G. (1980). Toward a theory of the family life cycle. In E.A. Carter & M. McGoldrick (Eds.), The family life cycle: A framework for family therapy. New York: Gardiner Press.

Tomm, K. (1988). Interventive interviewing: Part III. Intending to ask lineal, circular, strategic, or reflexive questions? Family Process, 27, 1-15.

Turner, B. A. (1981). Some practical aspects of qualitative data analysis: One way of organizing the cognitive processes associated with the generation of Grounded Theory. Quality and Quantity, 15, 225-247.

Walsh, F. (1982). Conceptualizations of normal family functioning. In F. Walsh (Ed.), Normal family processes. (pp. 3-44). New York: Guilford Press.

Walton, R. E. & McKersie, R. B. (1965). A behavioral theory of labor negotiation. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Watzlawick, P., Beavin, J. H., & Jackson, D. D. (1967). The pragmatics of human communication: A study of interactional patterns, pathologies, and paradoxes. New York: Norton.

Werner, H. (1957). The concept of development from a comparative and organismic point of view. In D.G. Harris (Ed.), The concept of development, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Werner, H. (1961). Comparative psychology of mental development. New York: Science Editions.

Whitaker, C., & Keith, D. (1981). Functional family therapy. In A. Gurman (Ed.), Handbook of family therapy. New York: Guilford Press.

Wilson, E. O. (1975). Sociobiology: The new synthesis. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wilson, E. O. (1978). On human nature. Chicago: Illinois University Press.

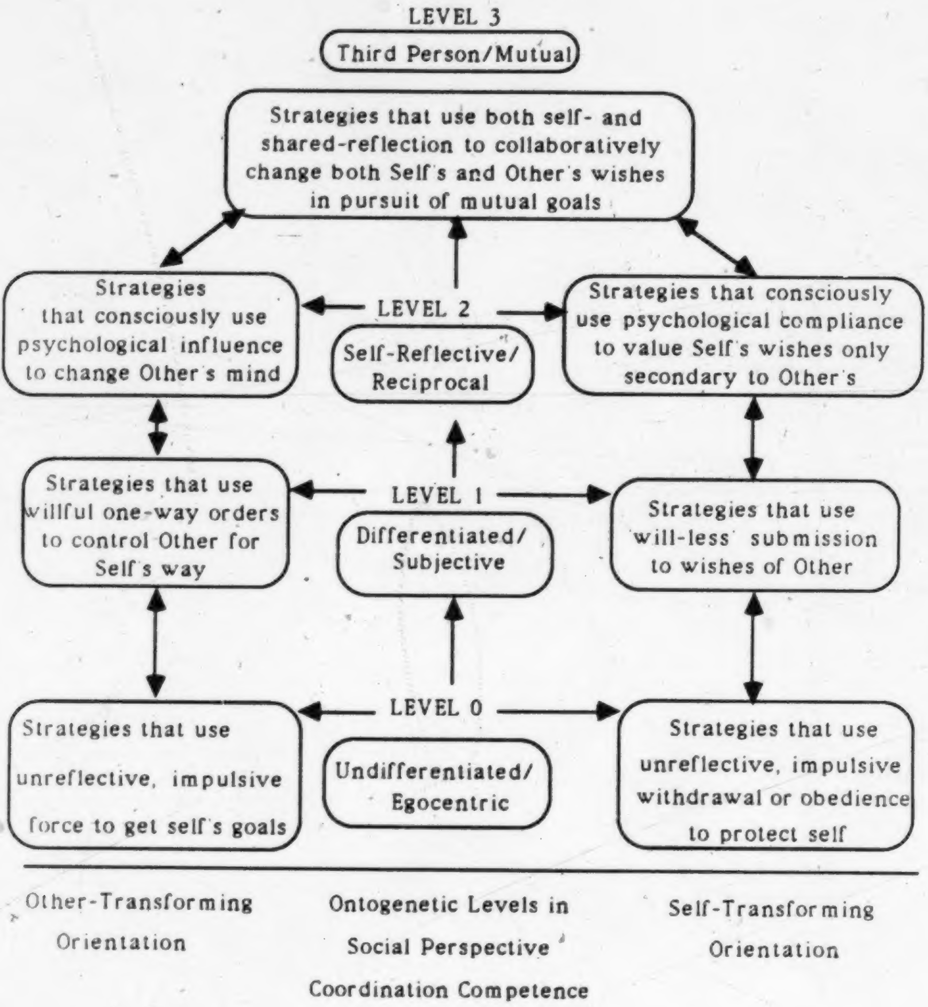
Wynne, L.C. (1984). The epigenesis of relational systems: A model for understanding family development. Family Process, 23, 297-318.

Wynne, L.C., Jones, J.E., & Al-Khayyal, M. (1982). Healthy family communication patterns: Observations in families "at risk" for psychopathology. In N. Walsh (Ed.), Normal family processes. New York: Guilford Press.

Youniss, J. (1980). Parents and peers in social development. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Youniss, J., & Smollar, J. (1985). Adolescent relations with mothers, fathers and friends. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

APPENDIX 1: Selman/Demorest Interpersonal-Strategies Negotiation model


LEVEL 3
Third Person/Mutual
Strategies that use both self- and shared-reflection to collaboratively change both Self's and Other's wishes in pursuit of mutual goals
Strategies that consciously use psychological influence to change Other's mind
LEVEL 2
Self-Reflective/ Reciprocal
Strategies that consciously use psychological compliance to value Self's wishes only secondary to Other's
Strategies that use willful one-way orders to control Other for Self's way
LEVEL 1
Differentiated/ Subjective
Strategies that use will-less submission to wishes of Other
Strategies that use unreflective, impulsive force to get self's goals
LEVEL 0
Undifferentiated/ Egocentric
Strategies that use unreflective, impulsive withdrawal or obedience to protect self
Other-Transforming Orientation
Ontogenetic Levels in Social Perspective Coordination Competence
Self-Transforming Orientation

APPENDIX 2

## Informed Consent Form

**Research Title:** Problem-Solving Styles: Adolescent-parent relationships
**Researcher:** Mike Lloyd Phone: 963 - 7980

The purpose of this research is to investigate problem-solving processes as important elements of teen-parent relationships. Interviews will be conducted at least once or possibly twice and each interview will last up to one hour. During these interviews you will be asked to comment on the typical characteristics of your relating styles as you deal with parent-teen adaptation issues. Your opinions of what is effective for teens and parents resolving problems will also be considered. Interviews will be audio-taped.

There may be no direct benefits to the participants of this study, but it is hoped that the information they share will be helpful to other families and helping professionals.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT I, .........................................................................., HEREBY agree to participate as a volunteer in the above named research study.

I hereby give my permission to be interviewed and for the interviews to be tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed into written form. The researcher will use an anonymous generic term as an identifier to preserve confidentiality.

I understand that at the completion of the research the tapes will be erased. I understand that an analysis of the information may be published, but my participation will remain anonymous.

I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and terminate my participation at any time.

I have been given the opportunity to ask whatever questions I desire, and all questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

.............................................................................. ..............................................................................

Participant Researcher Date

# APPENDIX 3

The following memos are presented to demonstrate the connection, the grounding, between theory and interview data. This is a small representative sample of the many memos that were generated during the discovery of grounded theory and represent the range of ideas stimulated by the adolescents' commentary.

Memo
Teen Two - 2nd interview
Title: The power of 'why'

p. 3 *"I can see what they are thinking of. I used to just ask and ask and then my mom and I or my dad and I would get mad at each other and I'd leave the room and be upset and pout and things like that. Then I thought one time, I thought, why not try asking them 'why.' I just sort of came up with it, I never thought of that before. Like this answer was here the whole time and I never thought, asking them 'why, they are saying this.' I just thought of 'I want this and I want this and they can't say anything about it. I want it!' Then I thought one time, well maybe try asking them why they don't want me to have this or whatever the situation may be."*

Q: Why ask why?

*"Because it might be a really, an answer that you can work around. It may be something like, oh, they didn't want you to, ... I always ask 'why' now and then I usually think ahead as to why they might not want me to do this and then I come up with the answers already."*

Asking why gives the teen access to the parent's rationale and an opportunity to confronting parental reasoning. The teen is able to provide a rebuttal to the decisions and provide reasoned arguments in an adult style that demonstrates mature level thinking and also challenges the parents to consider each decision on it's specific merits and not just decide automatically. Asking why seemed to open up a whole range of possibilities. I get the impression that being able to ask the question 'why' somehow empowers the teen to discuss differences in points of view and argue from a more rational level than was previously available. The teen can now prepare reactive comments in advance and there is more leeway to maneuver. The teen can whittle away at the parent's reasoning and achieve more influence. The teen sets the parents up to account for the reason and defend the decision to their teen/peer.

There is also some possibility that adolescents who learn to use the question 'why' are in 'the second age of why' The first being the age of two where the 'terrible two' bombards parents and all adults with 'why' questions. [Elkind's second age of reason] This first age of why is an individual stage of discovery where the child has grasped some cognitive concept that enables the toddler to realize that things happen for a reason (see Piaget). The first being as a toddler about age two. Once they discover language and start amassing a knowledge base of how things work and why are you doing this or that, then they are more able to operate. Gathering information is a valuable ability both for toddlers and adolescents. The information is used first of all to figure out the world they live in and second of all how to manipulate the elements of the world. Most notably learning how to deal effectively with the parents who had previously held the power of decision. By asking why the teen is again empowered to manipulate and get what he/she wants. It occurs to me this might the second age of 'why'.

The teen who asks why also knows that things happen for a reason and she or he wants to know not only why but 'why not' and is also prepared to challenge the veracity of the rationale why something happens. Perhaps the stage development of the individual is mirrored eventually in the new organism, the teen/parent. Ontogeny begets phylogeny etc! The cognitive development of the individual provokes the development of the family (teen/parents). The developmental stage of being able to cognitively order and reorder all the options, making the individual a better problem-solver (Melito & Lewis) enables the family (parent/teen) to have a wider range of options (operations level functioning progressing from regulations level functioning).

Memo
Teen Two - 2nd interview
Title: Anticipation and planning

p. 2 *"I ask myself how I am going to word it, i just do it in my head i think. I just sort of plan my words."*

*"...if it was a little bit more serious I usually plan out responses like to questions they might ask and things like that."*

Anticipating the responses or rebuttal from parents allows the teen the preparedness of rehearsal and the preparation of answers that show parents that the teen has prepared and is aware of contingencies, not only in the negotiation session with the parents but also with the event. Parents are more likely to agree to give permission to an event when they are aware that the teen is prepared for contingencies should they arise (drunken drivers, etc.)

Memo
Teen Eight
Title: Preventing an iffy mom

p. 5 *"I make sure she is in a good mood when I ask her. I have to make sure that she knows, like she'll want to know everything, but I have to make sure I have all the information before or else she'll get iffy about it, if i'm not sure about what is happening. So I have to make sure I have all the information."* (who is going, who is driving, parents there? what time return etc.)

Looking iffy? *" She looks at me like, she gives me that look like 'are you sure, are you telling me the truth?"*

Q: How does a smart teenager handle an iffy mom?

A: *"First of all you make them feel like they're in control. You make them feel like they know everything and that they have control over you and that you will do nothing wrong, that you are the perfect child and then you hit them with it. 'I won't be home until 12 mom."*

Control or the illusion of control. Control appears to be a central feature of teen parent relating. The 'who is the boss' struggle played out in many forms and variations. Control is exerted by parents to affirm parental authority and connection on family and parent. control is also exerted so that the offspring will not embarrass their parents.

The struggle for control is affected by the teen's drive for self-definition and independent functioning (striving for competence in their own terms). For the parent the struggle for control is fueled by the need for stability in the family and a relatively predictable and steady progression toward definition of the family structure as a family with adult children.

p. 7 *"When I look at mom, I can tell if she is in control or not, or if she feels like she is in control. When I think she is in control, well she's in a good mood. She is in control , then she says 'yes' to whatever I want. When she is in control she doesn't give that iffy look because she is in control then she feels that she knows everything that she has to know."*

The moral of the story seems to be, if you put mom into a feeling of control-- you get what you want.

Memo
Teen Seven
Title: Chipping away - nagging - persuading and caving in

p. 4 *"...just a lot of building her up and nagging at her usually gives me what I want..."*

*"Just keep, not building her up but chipping away at her if that makes any sense at all."*

*"I didn't mean building her up and then chipping away, just sort of chip a little bit away like 'come on please' and then 'I'll be really good, I'll clean my room.'"*

*"Well, just telling her everything that happens so that next time I'll be able to."*

The persuasion process for this teen seems to be one of wearing down her mother until she finally gives in. This teen also has a range of approaches from nagging to promising good behavior to comforting parents by describing in relative detail all that transpired at the event so that the parent will feel more comfortable about saying 'yes' next time. The persuading process appears to be one of helping parents become familiar with unfamiliar territory. The unfamiliar is what happens on a date etc. and how the teen manages to deal responsively with the challenges of the occasion ( staying sober, away from drugs, not coming home molested, acting with an adequate degree of decorum and not ending up in jail to the parent's never ending disgrace). Parents are afraid what is going to happen to their 'baby' and are protective until they are assured by the teen's actions or reports of reaction that the teen really is prepared to act with maturity and wisdom in social situations away from the parent's supervision.

Recognizing parents' fears: verbal description by the teen of parents' fears demonstrates to the parent that their daughter or son is aware of the 'dangers' and presumably is prepared to deal with events if and when they occur. The teen is demonstrating competence and mature responsible awareness thereby alleviating parents' fears. The parent need not exert control over the teen in this situation because the teen is acting 'as if' under parents' control - (remote control).

Memo
Teen Six
Title: Details of the Arrangement

p. 3 *"If I want to go to a dance, first I usually come home and tell my mom there's a dance and ask if I can go and then she asks when it starts, and when it ends and then I tell her and then if it is not too late then I usually get to go."*

Parents need lots of information before they give their permission. It is as if they need to have a clear conception of the events and all possibilities on order to assess the risk and likelihood for success. Younger teens seem to provide the information as facts and details such as times and supervision. Older teens provide information for parents also but they also do more anticipation of parental needs as indicated by considering their possible responses prior to asking for approval of the proposal. I think older teens have more formal cognitive processes which are capable of more variation and consideration of alternate views

Note: Differentiation of the teen and the differing alliances within the family.

These teens often have one parent that they go to for permissions, (to talk with on certain subjects such as educational or career choices, relationship consultations), and the other parent who is more demanding, critical, less giving, or flexible. The primary parent is considered by the teen to be more open understanding and accepting. The other parent is more difficult to deal with and is usually avoided and presents more of an obstacle to the teen. the obstacle parent provides the teen with a counter-foil or someone against whom he/she can react against. Thus providing the opportunity for definition of self and individualistic beliefs and values in reaction to a parent who disagrees with the teen. The parent team of primary parent and obstacle parent creates a family climate where the teen can achieve both goals of development as an independent thinking person who is adequately differentiated through reaction against parental actions values and decisions; as well as maintaining and/or developing a bond of mutuality with their primary parent and therefore feeling secure, stable and influential within the family from which s/he is also differentiating.

Memo
Teen Four
Title: Bugging - wearing them down
p.1/p.17

When bugging is used as a means of influencing parents' decisions about the teen's proposal it appears that the teen is trying to wear down the parent. There does not appear to be an apparent strategy for change except to wear down parents' resolve. The bugging must work with some families because there are a number of references in the interviews to bugging or nagging. (What works is likely to be continued). Perhaps the repetition of the request serves to have the parent reconsider their previous decision to refuse the request. Perhaps nagging and bugging serves to indicate to parents that the teen really wants to do something and which may put a different light on the request.

I suspect that bugging or nagging is a somewhat primitive style of problem-solving and is a demonstration of a lack of strategy or effective other means to bring about some modification or have some influence with the parents' control of the family norms.

Theoretical memo

DEFINITION

The process between teen and parent may be one of definition. Definition of self in relation to others. Definition of modified family norms. Definition of identity. Definition of roles and definition of the new format of family relating.

The teen is under pressure to emerge from the child stage and become an adult but parents are often reluctant to grant adult status to teens until they reach some age or level of 'responsible' functioning according to parents' assessment.

Perhaps the problem-solving process or adaptation is a process of defining the roles, power (influence) of the teen. Influence or control over self. To be self directing is a primary drive for the individual.

Definition of control. Control is an important issue and the problem-solving process between teen and parent is often defined by who has the power/control to decide the course of action. To decide who decides. The teen attempts to define him/herself by providing enough information to their parent to have the parent favorably approve the teen's proposal. The teen constructs the proposal and picks who to present to, when to present and where, and under what conditions. Additional factors of influence include being competent in manipulation techniques such as begging, hinting, pleading, brow-beating, nagging, reasoned argument and asking 'why' questions in an attempt to draw out the parents' reasoning and attack the weak points of parents' rationale.

Parents' control techniques are ignoring, referring to the rules and maintenance of status-quo, acting as if parental authority is absolute, and carrying on the role of parent as boss and arbiter of all family action. Parent as coordinator is also parent as controller, manipulator.

The struggle is to manage a balance between stability and change, to decide the degree of adaptation that is going to take place in consideration of the needs of the individual and the needs of the parent as the spokesman for the parent team/coalition, family norm. The struggle is essentially one of how much influence one has in this particular situation. [Note: get some reference to debating style - as in techniques for identifying and attacking another's rationale or supporting arguments].

Memo
Teen One
Title: Strategy

p.5 Getting approval seems to be a matter of getting parents to accept your point of view. Gaining acceptance by them of the way that you see things, letting them know what things, elements of the situation, you have considered, ("Hey guys, I really have looked before I am going to leap").

Getting approval is a matter of communication and there are several elements of communicating your point of view according to this teen:

(1). anticipate and prepare a reply - *"I usually think about what they are going to say..."*
(2) prepare your rationale - *"So I can come up with things that I can say back..."*
(3) challenge the first refusal by parents to support and validate their decision- *"If they are going 'no', I can support my opinion and ask them why they are saying no."* The teen appears to have some standard against which they measure validity of parents' decisions. What is it? (Personal subjective perceived needs?)
(4) preparing a defense, supporting your original proposal - *"And show them that there can be, they can say 'yes', it is just that they haven't seen my point of view."*

Not only does the strategy need to be prepared in advance and based on previous experience but the teen must be prepared to adapt and modify the argument according to the needs of the debate.

Champion chess players are said to have an extensive memory for previous move combinations which they consciously or unconsciously access to come up with the best move at the time. Chess expertise also demands that one be able to project ahead several move and consider the combinations and permutations of possible moves.

Sub-memo
Title Back on track

p.14 Getting too angry and emotional then nothing accomplished (alienate parents *"they would say 'if you are going to act that way about it there is no point in me listening to you because I won't get anything from it"* [parent's comment quoted by teen] and cloud your own vision of the elements of the issue and strategy *"not seeing things clearly"* ).

*"I usually start to calm down and realize I am going off the topic. I realize what they are saying and then I start to get back on track.*

Q: What is the track? A: *"Looking at their points of view".*

# APPENDIX 4

## Initial Sorting of Categories and Sub-categories

### Anticipating

Anticipating parents' objections, considering parents' position.
Reassuring, providing details, anticipation.
Planning influence strategy - getting a yes.
Getting on the good side.
Ask sincerely - really wanting.
Be rational - stay calm.
I usually put myself in an adult role.

### Asking/Convincing

Convincing and campaigning - asking styles.
Rational factual convincing.
making satisfactory arrangements.
Limits of what is possible.
Compromise.
Not sure how to problem-solve.

### Working around it

"Why?" - it might really be an answer I can work around.
Reassuring details - info. provided.
Making them feel they are in control.
Control by choosing not to react.
Acting sincere.
Being a little dishonest.
Staying cool - talking it over.
Try to make them see my way.
Pestering, nagging, pushing the limits.
Gaining and regaining trust.
Going through Dad.
Something/people you can't change.

Trying to get what you want

- Something I should be able to take into my own hands.
- No! - reactions and deceptions.
- Arguments and reactions.
- Parents' reactions to teens.
- Give and take take take.

Seeing where they are coming from

- Then I usually realize what's going on.
- I can see where they are coming from.

Dealing with moms and dads

- Mom is easier.
- Which parent.
- Shuttle diplomacy.
- My Dad and I are like oil and water.

Watching out for creeps

- Fears - teens' attempts to reassure.
- Trying to be soothing.
- Trust and freedom.

Being confused by parents

- I didn't know that was wrong.
- Whoa, what did I do now?
- I didn't really think anything of it at the time.

Getting chewed out

- Sit there and take it.
- Big Deal - choosing not to get involved.

# APPENDIX 5

Secondary Sorting of Categories and Sub-categories

## Outline of Thinking Ahead in Persuasion
## Components and Categories

Thinking Ahead

- Planning - Anticipating needs, objections, and fears.
    - Getting on the good side
    - Rehearsing - "I plan my words"
    - Choosing who, when, where, and how
    - Considering parents' stress and fears
- Acting - Influencing and tactics of persuasion.
    - Nagging and bugging
    - Talking it over vs. battling it out
    - Staying cool
    - Making sure they know everything
    - Helping parents anticipate change
    - Increasing predictability - describing the future
    - Addressing parents' safety fears
    - Soothing fears and easing stress
    - Asking why- "It might really be an answer I can work around
    - Making them feel they are in control
    - Keeping quiet - "I feel in control of it"
    - Acting sincere
    - Being a little dishonest
    - Dealing with "no" and parents' control
    - Gaining trust - being a good kid

## APPENDIX 6

Final Sorting of Categories and Sub-categories

Thinking Ahead/ Anticipating
- Getting on the good side,
- Gaining trust-being a good kid,
- Rehearsing,
- Choosing who-when-where-how,
- Considering parents' stress and fears.

Persuading/Negotiating
- Competitive style
  - Nagging and bugging,
  - Battling it out,
  - Dealing with "no" and parents' control,
  - (Deception).
- Manipulative style
  - Making sure they know everything,
  - Making them feel they are in control,
  - Acting sincere,
  - Keeping quiet-"I feel in control of it",
  - Being a little dishonest,
- Cooperative style
  - Helping parents anticipate change by increasing predictability,
  - Soothing fears and easing parents' stress,
  - Asking why-"It might be an answer I can work around",
  - Staying cool,
  - Talking it over,
- Assertive style
  - Opting out,